

SUCCESSORS OF THE SATAVĀHANAS IN THE EASTERN DECCAN

By
DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, M.A.

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To

SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE, Esq., M.A., B.L.

BARRISTER-AT-LAW, M.L.C.

Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University ,

With the author's best regards.

PREFACE

I have lately noticed that the gradually increasing influence of Sanskrit on the old inscriptional Prakrit can be traced from the Prakrit inscriptions of Southern India. Some Prakrit epigraphs, in all or almost all cases, express double-consonants by single letters; some in a number of cases, and some in all or almost all cases, express them by two letters. The last class again has the usual imprecatory verses in Sanskrit. A consideration of this development seems to show that the Ikṣvāku records are to be roughly ascribed to a period before about the beginning of the 4th century; the grants of Pallava Śivaskandavarman and Vijaya-Skandavarman, Br̥hatphalāyana Jayavarman, Śālaṅkāyana Devavarman and Kadamba Mayūra-śarman are possibly to be placed between about the beginning and the middle of that century (see my views in *Ind. Cult.*, I, pp. 501-2). Sanskrit inscriptions that show an influence of Prakrit (e.g., Gorantla grant of Attivarman, Mattepad grant of Dāmodaravarman, Omgodu grant of Skandavarman II, Darsi grant of the great-grandson of Vīrakorcavarman, etc.), should be roughly assigned to the period between about the middle of the 4th and about the beginning of the 5th century A.D. The first half of the book was already printed before this point occurred to me.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY,

D. C. SIRCAR.

December, 1934.

CONTENTS

Subject	Page
Introduction	1

CHAPTER I

The Ikṣvākus.

1. The Southern Ikṣvākus	9
2. Cāṃtamūla I	14
3. Virapurisadata	17
4. Eḥuvula Cāṃtamūla II	28
5. Importance of the Ikṣvāku Period	29

CHAPTER II

The Br̥hatphalāyanas.

1. Jayavamma	33
2. Capital of the Br̥hatphalāyanas	36

Appendix A.

Does the Alluru Inscription speak of a king called Sana ?	39
--	----

CHAPTER III

The Ānandas.

1. Hiranyagarbha	42
2. Genealogy of "the Ānanda kings of Guntur"	45
3. Attivarman	50
4. Dāmodaravarman	51

CHAPTER IV

The Śālaṅkāyanas.

Subject	Page
---------	------

1. Genealogy of the Śālaṅkāyanas	54
2. Who was Caṇḍavarman of the Komarti Plates ?	63
3. The term "Śālaṅkāyana" and the religion of the Śālaṅkāyanas	69
4. Devavamma	72
5. Hastivarman, Nandivarman I and Caṇḍavarman	76
6. Nandivarman II	77
7. Skandavarman	80

Appendix B.

The Peddavegi Plates of Nandivarman II	81
--	----

CHAPTER V

The Viṣṇukundins.

1. Genealogy of the Viṣṇukundins	84
2. Chronology of the Viṣṇukundins	90
3. Vikramahendra and Govindavarman	106
4. Mādhavavarman I	106
5. Mādhavavarman II	114
6. Vikramendravarman I	115
7. Indrarvarman	116
8. Vikramendravarman II	117

Appendix C.

1. Polamuru Plates of Mādhavavarman I	118
2. Polamuru Plates of Jayasimha I	123

SUCCESSORS OF THE SĀTAVĀHANAS IN THE EASTERN DECCAN

By

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, M.A.

INTRODUCTION

The aim of the author of these pages is to give a detailed account of the local dynasties that ruled in Andhra-deśa or the Telugu country from the time of the decline of Sātavāhana power up to the conquest of the country by the Cālukyas. Tiliṅga, *i.e.*, the Telugu country (Andhra-deśa) has been thus defined in the Śrīraṅgam plates dated A.D. 1358 (Ep. Ind., XIV. 90) :

पश्चात् पुरस्ताद् यस्य देशो महाराष्ट्रकलिङ्गसंज्ञौ ।

अवागुदक् पाण्ड्यकान्यकुञ्जौ देशस् स तत्रास्ति तिलिङ्गनाम ॥

that is, the Telugu country is bounded by Mahārāṣṭra on the west, Kaliṅga on the east, Pāṇḍyaka on the south and Kānyakubja on the north.¹ The tradition recorded here, however,

¹ It is curious that an inscription of the 14th century gives the name of Kānyakubja as bordering on the north of the Andhra country. Kānyakubja (Kanauj) appears to have thrice become the capital of a North Indian Empire; first under king Harṣa of the Puṣpabhūti family, secondly under the Gurjara-Pratihāras, the most renowned members of whom were Bhoja and Mahendrapāla, and thirdly under the Gāhaḍavālas. Here is probably a reference to the Pratihāra-Gāhaḍavāla empire of Kanauj. The empire of Kānyakubja, though it was no longer a political unit in the 14th century, was possibly still lingering as a social and geographical unit.

gives a wider boundary of the Telugu country, if not the widest which included even the whole or at least the greater part of the kingdom of Kaliṅga. For particulars of these wider boundaries, our readers may be referred to Sylvain Lévi's learned paper, *Pré-aryens et pré-dravidiens dans l'Inde* : no. 3, Kaliṅga-Triliṅga (Journ. Asiatique, 1923). We, however, have accepted here a narrower limit of the country, the heart of which roughly comprised the present Kistna, Guntur and the Godavari Districts. In Sanskrit literature this country is famous under the name of Andhra-deśa.

The country has been referred to in the Mayidavolu inscription of the early Pallava king Śivaskandavarman (Ep. Ind., VI. 88) as Andhāpatha (Andhrāpatha), which certainly embraced the modern Kistna-Guntur region, as it is said to have had its centre at Dhaññakaḍa. As regards the identification of Dhaññakaḍa (Sanskrit, Dhānyakataka) Dr. Vogel says, "The remains of Nagarjunikonda (* in the Palnad taluk of the Guntur District) can possibly represent the ancient capital of Dhāññakataka, which archaeologists have sought both at Dharanikota near Amarāvati and at Bezvāḍa." (Ep. Ind., XX. 10).

The Andhra country was practically the lower valley of the Krishna and the Godavari. The ports at the mouths of these rivers, therefore, appear to have belonged to this country. That they were great centres of South Indian as well as Far Eastern trade in the early centuries of the Christian Era is quite clear from the statement contained in the Geography of Ptolemy (c. 140 A.D.). Prof. Dubreuil appears to be right in saying that "the point of departure for vessels bound for Khryse (* the land of gold, i.e., the Far Eastern countries) during the time of Ptolemy, was situated near the mouth of the Godavari and that it was from there that the civilisation of India started to go over to Burmah, Java, Cambodia and Anam" (Ancient History of the Deccan, p. 88).

The Andhra people and their country are mentioned many times in literature ; but history of the Andhra-deśa, based on epigraphic evidence, only begins from the third century B.C., *i.e.*, the time of the Maurya emperor Aśoka. In the time of Aśoka the Maurya frontier certainly extended in the south as far as the Pennar river near Nellore, as only the Tamil kingdoms of the Ceras, Colas and the Pāṇḍyas have been distinguished as *pracāṃta* (border states) from the *viḥita* (dominions) of the king, and as inscriptions of Aśoka have been found on rocks as far south as the Chitaldrug District, Mysore. The Andhras are mentioned in the thirteenth Rock Edict of Aśoka in the list of subordinate peoples that lived in the dominions (*idha rājavisayaṃhi*) of the king. After the strength of the Maurya empire had waned, the people of the Andhra-deśa may have assumed independence.

A king named Kubiraka has been mentioned in an inscription discovered at Bhattiprolu, in the Repalle taluk of the Guntur District. According to Bühler, the Bhattiprolu inscriptions belong to the period immediately after Aśoka, *i.e.*, to about 200 B.C. (J.R.A.S., 1892, p. 602). It is therefore possible to think that king Kubiraka fought successfully with the weak successors of Aśoka (who died sometime before B.C. 230) and liberated the Andhra country from the Maurya yoke. But unfortunately we know next to nothing about this king.

Epigraphy is silent as regards the Andhra country for a long time after Kubiraka. Only about the second century of the Christian Era we find the country occupied by kings, belonging to the family known in Epigraphy as the Sātavāhana.¹ An inscription of Vāsiṣṭhīputra-Pulumāvi and another of Śivamaka Sāta have been discovered at Amarāvati (A.S.S.I., pp. 61 & 100). A rock inscription belonging to the 2nd (?) year of Vāsiṣṭhīputra

¹ The Purāṇic designation of the Sātavāhana dynasty is Andhra, which is mentioned in Aśokan records as the name of a subordinate people. It is not impossible that Andhra chiefs ruled as provincial governors under the Maurya Emperors (cf. the case of Tuṣāṅga, who according to the Junagadh rock inscription of Rudravarman ruled under Aśoka's governor).

Caḍa Sāta (Candra Sāti) has been discovered at Kodavali near Chandarti in the Pittapur taluk (Kolanka State) of the Godavari District (Z. D. M. G., LXII, pp. 591-2 ; Ep. Ind., VIII. 316). Another fragment of a pillar has been discovered at China (Kistna District) near the mouth of the river Krishna and has been found to bear an inscription dated in the 27th year of the reign of the Sātavāhana king Gautamī-putra Yajña-Sātakarṇi¹ (Ep. Ind., I. 95). These epigraphs are clear proofs of Sātavāhana occupation of the Andhra country in the 2nd and the 3rd centuries A.D. A rock inscription of another Sātavāhana king, Pulumāvi, discovered at Myakadoni in the Adoni taluk of the Bellary District (Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 153) also shows that the Sātavāhanas were then master of the Andhra region. Some coins of the Sātavāhana kings have also been discovered in the Andhra-deśa. Coins of king Pulumāvi bearing the symbol "ship with two masts" were picked up on the Coromandel Coast (Rapson's Catalogue, pp. 22-3). A great number of coins bearing the name of Vāsiṣṭhī-putra "Siri Pulumāvi" and Gautamī-putra "Siri Yaña Sātakarṇi" (śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi) have been discovered in the Kistna and the Godavari Districts (*ibid.*, pp. 2, 20, 24, 30, 32, 34, 38, 41). A large number of coins belonging to Vāsiṣṭhīputra śrī Candra Sāti has also been discovered in the same area. Besides these kings numismatics disclosed the name of two other Sātavāhana kings, Vāsiṣṭhī-putra Śivaśrī Sātakarṇi, and Rudra Sātakarṇi, whose coins have also been found in the districts of Kistna and Godavari. In the Anantapur, Chitaldrug and the Kuddapa districts have been discovered a number of coins which have been attributed by Rapson to some feudatories of the Sātavāhana kings (*ibid.*, lxxxi). The coins bearing "a ship with two masts" suggest that the power of king Pulumāvi extended over the sea.

¹ Scholars generally write the name of this king as Yajñaśrī-Sātakarṇi, possibly because he is so styled in the Purāṇas (Vāyu, 99, verse 55). But as in the inscriptions and on the coins of this king the name found is Siri-Yaña-Sātakarṇi (=Śrī-Yajña-Sātakarṇi (ride Lüders' List, Nos. 1024, 1146 and 1340; Rapson, Cat., 2 ff.), there can be no doubt that the king's name really was not Yajñaśrī-Sātakarṇi but Yajña-Sātakarṇi. See my *Note on the Name of the Last Great Sātavāhana King* in J.R.A.S., Jan., 1934.

The date of these kings is a disputed question ; but two points seem certain in this respect : (1) King Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi could not be far removed from (but was possibly for some time a contemporary of) the Śaka Satrap Rudradāman, who is known to have ruled from c. 130 A.D. to c. 150 A.D. The mention of Baithana (Paithan in the Aurangabad District) as the capital of Siroptolemaios (siri Pulumāvi, contemporary of Tiastenes=Caṣṭana) by Ptolemy (c. 140 A.D.) is also very important in ascertaining the date of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi in about the middle of the 2nd century A.D. (2) According to the evidence of palaeography, the reign of king Pulumāvi and that of Yajña could not have a great interval between. It is, therefore, very probably certain that Yajña ended his rule not long after A.D. 200, and Yajña was the last great king of his dynasty.

The local ruling families of the eastern Deccan either ruling as subordinates or as governors, such as the Śālaṅkāyanas, the Br̥hatphalāyanas, the Pallavas and the Ikṣvākus, who so long submitted to the strong Śātavāhana suzerainty at the time of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi and Gautamīputra Yajña Śātakarṇi, appear to have gradually raised their heads and supplanted the weak successors of Yajña. From palaeographic consideration, it appears that the Ikṣvākus were the first to grow powerful in the Kistna-Guntur region and to throw off Śātavāhana suzerainty in about the first half of the 3rd century A.D. The Ikṣvāku king Vāsiṣṭhīputra Cāṁtamūla appears to have been the first performer of the Aśvamedha sacrifice among the successors of the Śātavāhanas in the Eastern Deccan. The performance of the Aśvamedha, Vājapeya and other Vedic sacrifices by this king clearly shows that at his time the Ikṣvākus were no longer feudatories of the Śātavāhanas, who were therefore ousted from the Kistna-Guntur area before *circa* 250 A.D.¹ The successors of the

¹ According to the Purāṇas, Yajña-śi-Śātakarṇi (23 years ; real name Yajña-Śātakarṇi) was succeeded on the throne by Vijaya (6 years ; not known from epigraphy or numismatics).

sion of the district of Veṅgī even in the age of Ptolemy (c. 140 A.D.), when the Sātavāhanas were apparently the suzerain of the Andhra-deśa. We shall also see that even at the time of the great Sātavāhanas there ruled a family (most probably the Br̥hatphalāyanas), possibly as their feudatory, in the district round Masulipattan. Excepting the Viṣṇukunḍins, all the earlier dynasties that reigned in the Andhra-deśa after the Sātavāhanas, seem to have ruled more or less contemporaneously.

In these pages, we have given an account of the local dynasties that ruled between the Sātavāhanas and the Cālukyas. These were, therefore, the Ikṣvākus, the Br̥hatphalāyanas, the Ānandas, the Śālaṅkāyanas and the Viṣṇukunḍins. I have not dealt separately with the Pallavas, who for some time were master of the southern part of the Andhra-deśa. The reason is two-fold. First, the Pallavas as a ruling dynasty do not belong properly to the Andhra-deśa ; secondly, the history of the Pallavas is not at all a neglected subject like that of these dynasties.

In placing my work before the students of Indian History, I humbly request them to consider the new points I have been able to light upon in these pages. The chapters which I claim here to be original are those on the genealogy of the Ānandas, Śālaṅkāyanas and the Viṣṇukunḍins, and those on the chronology of the latter two dynasties. I have tried to establish a relation between the two known Ānanda kings, on the basis of the natural meaning of the passage *hiranya-garbh-odbhav-odbhava* of the Mattepad plates. I have tried also to settle the genealogy and chronology of the Śālaṅkāyanas and the Viṣṇukunḍins, in which, as I have shown, mistakes have been made permanent by previous writers. The theory of the existence of a king called Sana in the Kistna District in the second century A.D., has been discussed and found to be untenable, and errors in the reading of the Alluru inscription have been pointed out. The real significance of the passage *Hiranya-garbh-odbhava* has, I believe for the first time, been correctly pointed out in the following

CHAPTER I

THE IKṢVĀKUS.

1. *The Southern Ikṣvākus.*

Inscriptions of the Ikṣvākus of Eastern Deccan have been discovered at Jaggayyapetta in the Nandigram tāluk of the Kistna District (Ind. Ant., XI. 257) and at Nagarjunikonda in the Palnad tāluk of the Guntur District (Ep. Ind., XX. 1) of the Madras Presidency. Formerly, Burgess expressed the opinion that these inscriptions belong to about the 3rd or the 4th century A.D., "but are probably earlier." Bühler, and following him Vogel who has recently edited the Nagarjunikonda inscriptions, ascribe the Ikṣvāku records to the 3rd century of the Christian Era.

Ikṣvāku as the name of a king possibly occurs once in the Rgveda (X.60.4). The word there may, however, be also taken as an epithet of the name of another person, Asamāti, whom the Jaiminīyabrāhmaṇa (III. 167), Bṛhaddevatā (VII. 85 ff.), etc., take to be an Ikṣvāku prince. Ikṣvāku in the Atharvaveda (XIV. 39.9) seems to be regarded as an ancient hero. According to Macdonell and Keith (Ved. Ind., s.v.) the Ikṣvākus originally were a branch of the Puru family. Zimmer places them (Alt. Leben, 104, 130) on the upper Indus; the Vedic Index, however, thinks that the Ikṣvākus may well have been somewhat further east even in the Vedic period. Later Ikṣvākus are connected chiefly with Ayodhyā, the capital of the Kosala *janapada*. We have long lists of Ikṣvāku kings in the Purāṇas and the great epics. But we do not know of any relation between the Ikṣvākus of Ayodhyā and the Ikṣvākus of the Madras Presidency. Were the Southern Ikṣvākus a branch of the famous Ikṣvāku family of Northern India, which migrated and eventually carved out a principality in the Eastern Deccan ?

It is possible that the epithet *ikhāku-rāja-pravararisi-satapabhava-vamśa-bhava*, applied to Lord Buddha in an inscription of the Southern Ikṣvāku king Virapurisadata, refers to a claim of the king to belong to the same family as the Lord who, according to traditions, belonged to the famous Ikṣvāku family of Kosala (Majjhima-Nikāya, II.124). It is also interesting to note that the Southern Ikṣvākus were matrimonially related to the Southern Kekayas, as indeed, according to the Rāmāyaṇa, the Ikṣvākus of Ayodhyā were to the Kekayas of Girivraja in the Punjab. But in considering the question of the relation between the Northern and the Southern Ikṣvākus, we have also to remember the views of Caldwell regarding the nature of the Aryanisation of South India. "The Aryan immigrants to the South," he says, "appear to have been Brahmanical priests and instructors, rather than Kshatriya soldiers, and the kings of the Pāṇdyas, Cholas, Kaliṅgas, and other Dravidians, appear to have been chiefly Dravidian chieftains whom their Brahmanical preceptors and spiritual directors dignified with Aryan titles, and taught to imitate and emulate the grandeur and cultivated tastes of the Solar, Lunar and the Agnikula races of kings." (Comp. Gram., 2nd ed., Intro., 115). This view is certainly correct in some cases. As we know, the Hadis of Mymensingh (Bengal), a tribe closely allied to the Garos, have, only the other day, been allowed to wear *upavītas* and to bear the ancient and illustrious name of the Haihaya Kṣatriyas.¹ It is therefore, not easy to determine whether the Southern Ikṣvākus were actually Aryan immigrants from the North (which is

¹ It is to be noticed that at present the population of Eastern and Southern India is generally divided not into four but only into two *Vaṇśas*, viz., the Brāhmaṇa and the Sūdra. In Eastern India has, however, now come an age when nobody likes to remain a Sūdra. For a list of aboriginal tribes claiming the status of Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya and Vaiśya, see *Census of India*, 1931, Vol. V (Bengal and Sikkim), Pt. I, pp. 426-27. If, however, the Āguris are Ugra-Kṣatriya, the Bāgdis are Vyāgra-Kṣatriya, the Naimāḥ-Sūdras are Namobrahmaṇa and the Nāpits are Nal-(or Sāvitrī-)Brāhmaṇa, as we have it there in the list, may not the Musalmans, the Christians and the Japanese (or the Javanese) as well claim to be called Muśala-Kṣatriya, Klišṭa-(or Kṛṣṇa-)Kṣatriya and Yavana-Brāhmaṇa respectively?

possible) or a Hinduised aboriginal family of rulers, who appropriated the name of the most glorious royal family of ancient India.¹ The question is, moreover, a little further complicated by the points brought to our notice by Przyluski in an interesting paper in the *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique*, 1926, p. 83.²

The Sanskrit word *ikṣvāku* means "gourd." It is interesting that some Austro-Asiatic peoples call themselves issue either of a gourd or a melon, of which every seed gave birth to a man (Bonifacy, *Cours d'ethnographie indo-chinois*, 45; and Cochbrane, *The Shans*, I. 120). This myth seems to

¹ The extension of the name of "Kośala," where the Ikṣvākus ruled, over the modern Sambalpur-Raipur-Bilaspur region in the Dakṣiṇāpatha (cf. कौशलकनहेन्द्र mentioned as a दक्षिणापथराज in the Allahabad pillar inscription) and the tradition recording the establishment of Kuśa, son of the Ikṣvāku hero Rāma, at Kuśāvati to the South of the Vindhya and the Revā (Raghuvamśa, XVI.31) probably go to prove a southerly course of the Ikṣvāku expansion. It may also be noticed that the southern kingdoms of Aśmaka and Mulaka (on the Godavari) were traditionally known to be founded by two Ikṣvāku princes named Aśmaka and Mulaka (Vāyu Purāṇa, 88. 177-8). The history of the Ikṣvākus, Kekayas, Mālavas, Śibis, Guptas, Mauryas, Aśmakas and the Kadambas (who claim Abhicchatra in the modern Rohilkhand for their original home) and stories of the sons of Viśvāmitra, of Rāma, Vijaya, the sage Bāvari and others may all be very important in dealing with the Aryanisation of Southern India. But while we have reliable evidence of the migration of the Mālavas (=Maloi of Greeks : on the lower valley of the Rūvi in Alexander's time) and the Śibis (=Siboi of the Greeks : in Alexander's time in the Shorkot region of the Jhang District, Punjab), and also of the Mauryas and the Guptas, from north to south—there is no satisfactory evidence as regards the migration of the other families or tribes. The mention of the Mālavas (=Mālavas) as living in the vicinity of Puṣkara (near Ajmere) in an inscription of Usavadāta (Ind. Ant., 1918, p. 75), the find of coins with the legend *Mālavānāṇ jayaḥ* in the southern part of the Jaipur State (Rapson, *Indian Coins*, § 51) and the name of the modern province of Mālvā, prove conclusively the southerly course of the Mālavas. As regards the Śibis we may however challenge the authority of the tradition recorded in the *Daśakumāracarita* about their settlement on the Kaveri and their connection with the greater Colas as is claimed in the Udayendiram plates (S. I. I., II, p. 382) ; but the discovery of their coins at Nagari leaves no doubt that the Śibi tribe marched at least as far south as the Chitorgadh District of Rajputana. It can also be hardly doubted that the Mauryas of Konkan and the Guttas (=Guptas) of Guttala were branches respectively of the famous imperial dynasties of those names that ruled at Pāṭaliputra. The cases of the other tribes or families however though not impossible cannot be substantially proved at the present state of our knowledge.

² An English translation of this paper is to be found in P. C. Bagchi's *Pre-Aryans and Pre-Dravidians in India* (Cal. Univ.).

have passed into Indian tradition, in which Sumati, queen of king Sagara of Ayodhyā (to whom 60,000 sons were promised), gave birth to a gourd, and from that gourd came out 60,000 children (Rām., I. 38 ; Mahābhā., III. 106 ; Bhāg. Pur., IX. 88). The Austro-Asiatic myth of gourd-ancestor seems to have been transposed in the legends of Sumati and Ikṣvāku, who have been placed at Ayodhyā. But as is often the case in Indian literature, it appears that in the second case, the authors have modified the myth for the sake of ennobling it. The epic poets could not be pleased with the idea that a gourd had given birth to a glorious dynasty. Ikṣvāku, which properly means a gourd in Sanskrit, appears, therefore, to have been personified as a hero, son of Vaivasvata Manu (Rām., I. 70, vs. 20-21; Mahābhā., I. 75, vs. 31-40) or that of Sage Gautama (Rockhill, Life of the Buddha, 10-11). In a story of the Dul-va, analysed by Rockhill, attempt has been made to explain the name Ikṣvāku by the fact that the children of the Sage Gautama were found in a field of sugarcane (*ikṣu*).

If we think, now, that the Ikṣvākus were originally an Aryan tribe, this Austro-Asiatic influence possibly shows that they were closely connected with the aborigines of the country, wherein there was a strong Austro-Asiatic element, and consequently shared some of their beliefs and traditions. Relation, matrimonial and otherwise, of Aryan ruling families with the aborigines is frequently illustrated in the Epic and the Purāṇic literature. That the Aryan families which migrated to South India, had to accept some aboriginal customs, is also clear from the fact that very early authorities on *smṛti* had to acknowledge and distinguish between the Aryan customs of Northern and those of Southern India. Baudhāyana, who lived long before Christ and is a very great authority, speaks in his Dharmasūtra (I. ii. 1-4) of *mātula-pitr-svasṛ-duhitṛ-gamana* (*i. e.*, sexual relation with daughters of mother's brother and father's sister) as an established custom in the South. In this connection, it is interesting to note that the Ikṣvāku king

Virapurisadata had, among others, three queens who were the daughters of his father's sisters.

The capital of the Southern Ikṣvāku kings is not known. But probably it was at Dhānyakataka. Vogel thinks that "the remains of Nagarjunikonda can possibly represent the ancient capital of Dhaññakataka, which archaeologists have sought both at Dharanikoṭa near Amarāvati and at Bezvāḍa."

It must be noticed that the country, which according to the evidence of the Nagarjunikonda and the Jaggayyapetta inscriptions appears to have belonged to the Ikṣvākus in about the second half of the 3rd century A.D., is known to have belonged to the Sātavāhanas in the 2nd century. After the decline of the Ikṣvākus, this region passed into the hands of the Pallavas of Kāñcī. The Mayidavolu (Guntur District) Prakrit plate (Ep. Ind., VI. 86) of the Pallava Yuvamahārāja Sivaskandavarman, records an order of the Yuvamahārāja to the *vāpata* (*vyāpṛta*, i.e., governor) of Dhaññakata (Dhānyakataka) to execute the grant of a village named Viripāra situated in the Andhāpatha (Andhrāpatha). Another set of plates of the same age belonging to the Pallava king (vijaya)-Skandavarman, was discovered in the Guntur District. According to Prof. Dubreuil, king (vijaya)-Skandavarman of this inscription is the same as the Yuvamahārāja Sivaskandavarman of the Mayidavolu plate. Whatever the identification be worth, it is clear that the Ikṣvākus were ousted from the Kistna-Guntur region by the Pallavas of Kāñcī.

We cannot neglect to mention in this connection the rise of the Br̥hatphalāyanas in the district round Masulipattan. It is, however, certain that the weak successors of the great Cāṃtamūla and his son Virapurisadata were finally swept away by the Pallavas of Kāñcī at about the beginning of the 4th century A.D. But it is quite possible that the rise of the Br̥hatphalāyanas had a large share in weakening the power of the Ikṣvākus.

An inscription of about the 5th century A.D. (Ep. Carnat., XI, p. 142), discovered at Anaji in the Devāngere tāluk (Mysore), speaks of a Kekaya prince, named Sivanandavarman

who claims, for his family, matrimonial connection with the saintly kings of the Ikṣvāku line. (Cf. *parama-māheśvaraḥ mātā-pitr-pādabhaktaḥ ātreya-gotraḥ soma-vamś-odbhavaḥ ikṣvākubhir=api rājarsibhiḥ kṛt-āvāha-vivāhānāṃ kekayānāṃ kule jātaḥ śivanandavarmā*). This fact possibly goes to show that the Ikṣvāku dynasty lingered long as a ruling power, though unimportant in comparison with the neighbouring royal families.

2. Cāṃtamūla I (=Śāntamūla I).¹

Only three kings of the Ikṣvāku family of the Eastern Deccan are so far known. The first of them is Mahārāja Vāsiṣṭhīputra Cāṃtamūla. We have not yet any inscription of the time of this king. But from the epithets applied to his name in the inscriptions of his son and grandson, he appears to be a very great and powerful monarch.

Vāsiṣṭhīputra Ikṣvāku Cāṃtamūla is credited with the performance of the *agnihotra*, *agniṣṭoma*, *vājapeya* and *aśvamedha* sacrifices. It must be noted that the Vājapeya and the Aśvamedha sacrifices could be performed only by very powerful kings. According to the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa (V. ii) the performance of the former bestowed on the performer a superior kind of kingship called *sāmrājya*, while the Rājasūya conferred merely the ordinary royal dignity called *rājya* (*ibid.*, i. 1. 13). According to the Āpastamba Śrauta-sūtra (XX. i. 1), only the

¹ In connection with the possible change of ś into c, may be noticed the change of ś into c in the name of two kings of the line of the Kadambas of Goa. The name Śaṣṭha or Śaṣṭhadeva has in these cases the Prakrit forms Caṣṭha, Caṣṭhala, Caṣṭhaya and Caṣṭayya (Bomb. Gaz., I, Pt. ii, p. 567). It must also be remembered that Tamil, a typical Dravidian language, has no letter in its alphabet corresponding to the ś of Sanskrit and that Sanskrit ś is generally represented in Tamil by c; e.g., Sanskrit *paśu*=Tamil *pacu*; S. *śatru*=T. *catturu*; S. *śastraka*=T. *cattakam*, etc. This is due possibly to the fact that Sanskrit ś is represented in Prakrit by s, which again is almost identical in sound with Dravidian c.

Sārvabhauma kings (*rājās*) could perform the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice.¹ King *Cāmtamūla*, therefore, could not have been a weak ruler, subordinate to some *Sātavāhana* emperor. He is also said to have been a giver of crores of gold, thousands of cows (or bullocks) and thousands of ploughs.² The king was evidently a Brahmanical Hindu. The deity he was devoted to, is mentioned as *virūpākhapati-mahāsena*. It may be noted that the Kadambas and the Cālukyas also referred to their families, in their inscriptions, as *mahāsena-parigrhīta*. *Mahāsena* (Skanda), in the Ikṣvāku inscriptions, has been called *virūpākha-pati*, "lord of the *Virūpākhās*." Vogel takes the term *virūpākha* in the sense of the hosts of which Skanda is the lord or leader. The word indicates a class of snakes in a snake-charm in the *Vinayapiṭaka* (ed. Oldenberg, II. 110).

King *Cāmtamūla* had at least two sisters. One of them named *Cāmtasiri* (or *Cāmtisiri* = *Sāntaśrī* or *Sāntiśrī*) was given in marriage to *Vāsiṣṭhīputra Khamḍasiri* (*Skandaśrī*) of the *Pūktya* family. *Khamḍasiri* has been called *mahāsenāpati* and *mahātalavara*, and his wife, the Ikṣvāku princess *Cāmtasiri*, *mahādāna-patinī* and *mahātalavarī*. The term *mahāsenāpati* ("great chief of the army," i.e., general) denoted feudatory chieftains in charge of the *rāṣṭras* (districts) in the time of the *Sātavāhanas*; the same meaning seems to be applicable in the present case also. Vogel is, therefore, inclined to render the term by "duke." *Mahātalavaras* are mentioned in early Jain works along with the eighteen *gaṇa-rājas*. So, this word must also be taken as a title of nobility (cf. *Kalpasūtra*, ed. Jacobi, 61.11.21-5). A Sanskrit commentary on the *Kalpasūtra*, called *Subodhikā*, by *Vinayavijaya* (*Nirnaysagar Press* ed., leaf 60, lines 6-7) explains

¹ See also Ray Chaudhuri, *Pol. Hist. Anc. Ind.*, 2nd ed., pp. 105-6 and 109-10.

² It is possible that his epithet *aneka-hiraṇyakoṭi-gosahasasahasā-hala-saśāsahasā-padāyī* refers to the fact that the king performed many times several of the sixteen *mahādānas* enumerated in the *Purāṇas*, such as *Hiraṇyagarbha*, *Hiraṇyakūmadhenu*, *Hiraṇyāśva*, *Hiraṇyāśvaratha*, *Gosahasra* and *Pañcalāṅgala*.

the term *talavara* as *talavarāḥ tuṣṭabhūpāla-pradatta-paṭṭabandha-vibhūṣita-rājasthānīyāḥ*. In the Punjab there is a subdivision of the Khetris (Kṣatriyas) called the Tālwar (Ep. Ind., XX, p. 7, n. 1). Vogel suggests a connection of the word *talavara* with Tamil *taḷavāy* (general), *talaiyāri* (village-watchman) or Kanarese *taḷavara*, *taḷavūra* (watchman beadle). It seems from the Subodhikā and these inscriptions that the Mahātalavaras were provincial governors or subordinate rulers. I, therefore, think that the word is connected with Tamil *talaivan*, which means a king, ruler or governor (Tamil Lexicon, pub. Madras University, s.v.). The word, which is originally Dravidian, evidently penetrated into North India also. In addition to the instance of the Tālwar of the Punjab, it may be said that it is obviously identical with the mysterious word *taravara*, which along with the word *mahāpratihāra* (great chamberlain) is found on a clay sealing excavated by Bloch at Basārh (Arch. Surv. Rep., 1903-4, 108, etc., Pl. XL. 6).

At least two children—a son and a daughter—were born to Cāmtisiri. The name of her son was Khamdasāgaramṇaga (Skanda-sāgara). We do not know her daughter's name; but she is known to have been married to her cousin, king Virapurisadata. In an inscription of Nagarjunikonda, Virapurisadata has been called Cāmtisiri's *apano jāmātuka*, i. e., own son-in-law.

Another uterine sister of king Cāmtamūla was Hammasiri (Harmyaśrī), who had two daughters, Vapisiri-nikā (Vāpīśrī) and Chathisiri (Ṣaṣṭhīśrī). Both Vapisiri and Chathisiri were given in marriage to their cousin, Virapurisadata, son and successor of king Cāmtamūla.

Two children of king Cāmtamūla are known from inscriptions. One of them is his son from Māḍharī (Māṭharī), named Virapurisadata, who succeeded him on the throne. The other is his daughter, Mahātalavarī Aḍavi-Cātasiri.¹ The princess was

¹ The word *aḍavi* was prefixed to the name of this princess evidently in order to distinguish her from her namesakes. The word is connected either with Sanskrit *aḍavi* or Tamil *aḍavai* or *aḍavaḷ*.

given in marriage to the Mahāsenāpati, Mahādaṇḍanāyaka Khamdavisākhamṇaka (Skandaviśākha) who belonged to the family of the Dhanakas. Both the sister and the brother appear to be staunch Buddhists, whereas their father was a performer of Vedic sacrifices like the *agnihotra*, *agniṣṭoma*, *vājapeya* and the *aśvamedha*.

In one of the Nagarjunikonda inscriptions dated in the 6th regnal year of Virapurisadata, we have a record of the benefactions of one Mahāsenāpatinī Cula(kṣudra)-Cāṃtisirinikā (*i.e.*, Cāṃtisiri, the younger), who was married to the Mahāsenāpati, Mahātalavara, Vāsiṣṭhīputra Khamdacalikireṃmanaka of the Hiranyaka family. The name of the Mahāsenāpatinī seems to indicate that she was an Ikṣvāku princess ; but she is explicitly called *kulahakānaṃ vālikā*, *i.e.*, a girl born in the family of the Kulahakas. She therefore appears to me to have been the daughter of an Ikṣvāku princess married to a Kulahaka chief.

3. Virapurisadata (Vīrapuruṣadatta).¹

King Cāṃtamūla (Śāntamūla) I, as we have already said, was succeeded on the Ikṣvāku throne by his son Virapurisadata. We have a number of inscriptions dated in the regnal years of this king. His inscriptions have been found at the Buddhist sites of Nagarjunikonda and Jaggayyapetta.

All his inscriptions begin with an adoration to Bhagavān Samyaksambuddha, *i.e.*, the Lord Buddha. (Cf. *namo bhagavato devarāja-sakatasa supabubha-bodhino savaṃñuno*

¹ Bühler took Purisadata as name of the king and *siri-vira* (śrī-vīra) as an adjective (*Ind. Ant.*, XI. 257) on the ground that there is no deity named Vīrapuruṣa and that therefore, as a name, Vīrapuruṣa-datta makes no sense. Sometimes, however, such adjectives are known to form an integral part of the proper name. Note, for instance, the name of Virarājendra, the Cola king, who ruled from 1063 to 1070. (Sewell, *List of Historical Inscr. of South. Ind.*, pp. 81 and 449-50.)

*savasat-ānukampakasa jita-rāga-dosa-moha-vipamutasa mahāgani-
vasabha-gaṇdhahathisa samma-sabudhasa dhātuvara-parigahi-
tasa in some, and in one namo bhagavato ikhāku-rāja-pravara-
risi-sata pabhava-vamsa-bhavaśa deva-manusa-sava-sata-hita-
sukha-maga-desikasa jita-kāma-kodha-bhaya-harisa-tarisa-moha-
dosasa dapita-māra-bala-dapa-māna-pasamanakarasa dasabala-
mahabalasa aṭhaṃga-maga-dhama-caka-pavatakasa caka-lakhaṇa-
sukumāra-sujāta-caraṇasa taruna-divasakara-prabhasa sarada-
sasi-sama-darisanasa sava-loka-cita-mahitasa budhasa).*

Inscriptions appear to tell us of five queens of king Virapurisadata. Two of them were Vapisiri (Vāpīśrī) and Chathisiri (Śaṣṭhīśrī), daughters of the king's aunt (father's sister) Hammasiri (Harmyaśrī). A daughter of his other aunt Cāmtisiri was also a queen of the king. Another queen appears to be the Mahādevī Rudradharābhāṭṭārikā, who has been described in the inscriptions as *ujanikāmahārābālikā*. Vogel is inclined to correct the passage as *ujanikā-mahārāja-bālikā*, which may not be impossible, as in the Nagarjunikonda inscriptions there are signs of careless engraving. Vogel then identifies Ujanikā with the famous city of Ujjayinī (Prakrit Ujeni), mentioned by the Greek geographer Ptolemy (Geography, VII. i, § 63) as Ozênê and as the capital of Tiasenes (Caṣṭana). The name of queen Rudradharā and those of the kings of Caṣṭana's line, such as Rudradāman (I and II), Rudrasena (I, II and III) and Rudrasimha (I, II, III and IV) may also indicate the possibility of Vogel's theory. Though there is no name like Rudradhara (of whom the queen might have been supposed to be a sister or a daughter) in the genealogy of the Śakas of Ujjain, two kings having names beginning with Rudra, reigned in the third century A. D.

1. Rudrasena I, circa Śaka 122-135 (A. D. 200-213).

2. Rudrasena II, circa Ś. 176-196 (A.D. 254-274).

It is not altogether impossible that the Ikṣvāku queen was related to one of these kings. It may be noted in this connection

that a Nagarjunikonda inscription records the pious gift of a Saka girl, which fact possibly shows that the Ikṣvākus were friendly towards the Sakas. The currency of *dīnāra māṣakas* in their kingdom seems also to indicate their relation with the north. The *dīnāra*, according to numismatists, was a gold coin weighing about 124 grains, first struck by the Kuṣān kings (of whom Caṣṭana is supposed to have been a feudatory) in the first century A. D. in imitation of the Roman gold Denarius. (Bhandarkar, Carmichael Lectures, 1921, p. 181.)

In an inscription of Ehuṣula (Bāhubala?) Cāṃtamūla II (Śāntamūla II), son and successor of Virapurisadata, the name of the reigning king's mother is mentioned as Mahādevī Bhaṭṭidevā. She appears, therefore, to have been another queen of Virapurisadata.

Besides the son Ehuṣula Cāṃtamūla, king Virapurisadata is known to have had a daughter named Kodabalisiri (Kundavallīśrī), who is said to have been the Mahādevī (queen) of the vanavāsakamahārāja. Vanavāsakamahārāja appears to mean the king of Vanavāsī, now in the North Kanara District of the Bombay Presidency. Banavāsī is known to have been the capital of the Cuṭu Śātakarṇis and afterwards of the Kādambas. Scholars think that the Kādambas began to rule at Banavāsī about the beginning of the fourth century A.D. It is therefore not impossible that a Cuṭu-Śātakarṇi king of Banavāsī was the husband of the Ikṣvāku princess Kodabalisiri, daughter of Virapurisadata whose inscriptions have been ascribed to the third century A. D. Matrimonial alliance with the powerful house of Ujjain and that of Banavāsī certainly strengthened the Ikṣvākus at the time of this monarch.

I. Record of the erection of a pillar of the Mahācetiya of Lord Buddha by Cāṃtasiri, who was the uterine sister of the king Vāsiṣṭhīputra Cāṃtamūla I, aunt (pituchā, *i.e.*, father's sister) of king Mādharīputra Virapurisadata, wife of the Pūkīya chief Vāsiṣṭhīputra Khamdasiri and mother of Khamdasā-garaṃnaka. The act is said to have been done "for the attainment of welfare and happiness in both the worlds, and in order to attain herself the bliss of Nirvāṇa, and for the attainment of welfare and happiness by all the world."

II. Record of the erection of a stone-pillar by Vapisirini-kā, daughter of Haṃmasiri, sister of king Cāṃtamūla I and wife of king Virapurisadata. The pillar was erected with regard to the queen's mother Haṃmasiri, and for the sake of attaining the bliss of *nirvāṇa* for herself; also records the completion of extension of the mahācetiya,¹ for the benefit of the Masters of the Aparamahāvinaseliya sect, by Reverend Ānanda who knew the Dīgha-nikāya and the Majjhima-nikāya by heart and who was a disciple of the Masters of the Āyira-haṃgha (ārya-saṃgha). The Masters of the ārya-saṃgha are said to have been resident at Paṃṇagāma and to have been preachers and preceptors of the Dīgha-nikāya, Majjhima-nikāya and the five Mātukas.

Dīgha-nikāya and Majjhima-nikāya are the celebrated Pāli Buddhist works. The way, however, in which the Masters of these Nikāyas are mentioned in the Nagarjunikonda inscriptions is different from that in which they are generally referred to in the Buddhist literature. It has, therefore, been conjectured by Dr. Dutt (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, VII. 642) that possibly the inscriptions were concerned with a Buddhist sect that was not exactly the Theravāda (the Pāli School), but had a literature and tradition very similar to the Theravāda School.

¹ Dr. Dutt says that the "period mentioned here (* the time of the Ikṣvāku inscriptions, the 3rd or the 4th cent.) relates to the subsidiary structures of the main stūpa itself—the Mahācetiya,.....must be assigned to an earlier period....." (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, VII. 634), Vogel, however, translates *nīṭhapitaṃ inañṇaṃ navakamaṃ* (lit. repairs) *mahācetiyaṃ khambha ca ṭhapita ti*, as "this pious work (*नवकाम), the Mahācetiya, was completed and the pillars were erected." (*Ep. Ind.*, XX. 17.)

Dr. Dutt further suggests that the word *mātuka* (Pāli *mālikā*, Sanskrit *mātṛkā*) may be taken to be both the Vinaya and the Abhidharma Piṭakas; but that the specification of the number in *pañca-mātuka* indicates that here the Vinayapiṭaka is meant. It must be noted that five of the principal Buddhist Schools, viz., Theravāda, Mahīśāsaka, Haimavata, Sarvāstivāda and Mahāsaṃghika, had their Vinaya Piṭakas in five divisions (Przy-luski, Le Concile de Rājagṛha, 353 ff.).

The Avaramahāvīnaseliyas (Aparamahāvānaśailīyas) have been taken to be the same as the Aparāśailīyas, whose place has been referred to by Yuan Chowang as A-fa-lo-shi-lo (Watters, On Yuan Chōwang's Travels, II. 214). Dr. Dutt suggests (*op. cit.*, 648-9) that the Masters of the Ayira-haṃgha are to be identified with the Mahāsaṃghikas, and that "the whole Buddhist establishment at Nagarjunikonda belonged to the Mahāsaṃghikas." It is, however, difficult to accept the latter suggestion in view of the fact that an inscription of the site dated in the 11th year of king Ehuṃvula Cāṃtamūla II records the dedication of a viḥāra to the Masters of the Mahīśāsaka sect (*Ep. Ind.*, XX. 22 : *imaṃ khaniyaṃ viḥāra ca acariyānaṃ mahī-sāsakānaṃ supariḡahe cātudisaṃ saṃghaṃ adīśāḥ : sarasatānaṃ hitasukhāthaṃ thāpitaṃ*).

III. Record of the erection of a piṣṭi in the Mahācetiya by Mahātalavarī Adavi-Cāṃtasiri who was the daughter of king Cāṃtamūla I, sister of king Virapūṣiśāh and wife of the Dhanaka chief Khamḍavisākhamma. The act is said to have been done with regard for both the deities to which she belonged and for the attainment of welfare and happiness by herself in both the worlds.

Ujjain and evidently the queen of Virapurisadata, for the attainment by herself of welfare and happiness and the wealth of Nirvāṇa—and also of the erection of a pillar and of the gift of 170 *dīnāra-māṣakas* by Mahātalavarī Cāṃtisiri (sister of king Cāṃtamūla I) who belonged, by marriage, to the family of the Pūkīyas. The mention of the *dīnāra-māṣakas* ($\times \frac{1}{16}$ of a *dīnāra* in weight or value ? cf. *janam*), in an inscription found at Nagarjunikonda in the Guntur District of the Madras Presidency, is very interesting. As already stated, it is generally held that *dīnāra* is the Indian designation of some Kuṣan coins which were imitated from the Roman *denarius*. Again, the early Western Śaka Satraps according to many scholars, were subordinate to the great Kuṣan kings. As then the Ikṣvākus appear to have been matrimonially connected with the kings of Ujjain, it is not impossible that the Kuṣan coin-designation passed into the Ikṣvāku kingdom through the country of the Śakas.

VI. Record of the erection of a pillar by the Mahādevī Chaṭhisiri (Śaṣṭhīśrī), daughter of king Cāṃtamūla's sister Hamaṃsirinikā (Harmyaśrī) and wife of king Virapurisadata, for the purpose of attaining Nirvāṇa.

VII. Record of the erection of a stone-pillar by a Mahātalavarī, whose name is not mentioned, but who is said to have been the wife of the Mahāsenāpati, Mahātalavara Vāsiṣṭhīputra Mahā-Khaṃdasiri (Mahā-Skandaśrī) of the Pūkīya family and the mother of the Mahāsenāpati Mahātalavara Veṇhusiri (Viṣṇuśrī). Vogel thinks it possible that the Vāsiṣṭhīputra Mahā-Khaṃdasiri is identical with the Pūkīya chief Khaṃdasiri, who is mentioned in some inscriptions as the husband of king Cāṃtamūla's sister Cāṃtisiri, mother of Khaṃda-sāgaramaṇṇa. This identification makes Cāṃtisiri mother of Khaṃdasāgaramaṇṇa, a co-wife of the unknown Mahātalavarī who was the mother of Veṇhusiri. It however seems to me that Mahā-Khaṃdasiri was a uterine elder brother of Khaṃdasiri. (Cf. the names Mahā-Caṃdamukha and Cula (*kṣudrā*)-Caṃda-

mukha and of Mahā-Mūla and Cula-Mūla in the big Nagarjunikonda inscription.)

The Nagarjunikonda inscription dated in the 14th year of king Virapurisadata is very important. It records the building of a *cetiya* (*caitya-grha*), "with a flooring of slabs, with a caitya and provided with all the necessities" in the Cula-dhamma-giri-vihāra on the Śrīparvata, to the east of Vijayapurī, by a lay member Bodhisiri (Bodhiśrī), wife of Budhimnaka and daughter of Revata of Govagāma, for the acceptance (*suparigahe*) of the Theris specially of Tāmbapamṇa (Sanskrit Tāmraparnī or ॐṇa, Greek Taprobāne, i.e., Ceylon) and other Theris who are said to have "caused serenity and happiness" (*pasādaka*) to the people of, that is, who belonged to, Kāśmīra, Gaṇḍhāra, Cīna, Cīlāta, Tosali, Avaramta, Vamga, Vanavāsī, Yavana (?), Damila (?), Palura (?) and Tāmbapamṇa. It appears that these Theris (female ascetics) of Ceylon and other countries used to visit all this region for purposes of pilgrimage.¹

The countries mentioned in this connection can be easily identified.

(i) Kāśmīra is the famous country of North-western India still known under its ancient name. The boundary of the country, however, was not the same in all ages.

(ii) The kingdom of Gaṇḍhāra, according to the Rāmāyaṇa (VII, 113.11, 114.11), lay *sindhor=ubhayataḥ pārsve* (on both sides of the Indus). We know from the Epics and the Purāṇas that the great cities of Takṣaśilā and Puṣkalāvati belonged to the Gaṇḍhāra kingdom. The ruins of the ancient city of Takṣaśilā are situated immediately to the east of Sarai-kala, a railway junction twenty miles to the north-west of Rawalpindi in the Punjab. Puṣkalāvati (Prakrit Pukkalaoti and Greek Peukelaotis) has now been correctly identified with

¹ Dr. Nalinaksha Dutt in a learned paper in *Ind. Hist. Quart.* (VII. 633ff.) has objected to Dr. Vogel's translation of the term *pasādaka* as "one who converts." According to him the word refers to the saintly lives of the nuns that bring joy and peace to the people of their countries.

modern Prang and Charsadda on the Swat river, seventeen miles to the north-east of Peshāwar (Schoff, *Periplus*, 183-4). The *janapada* of Gaṃdhāra appears to have included the Rawalpindi District of the Punjab and the Peshawar District of the North-West Frontier Province.

(iii) & (iv) Cīna and Cilāta were names of the countries inhabited by Mongoloid peoples and situated to the east and north-east of India (*cf.* *pūrve kirātā yasy = ānte paścime yavanās = tathā*). According to the *Mahābhārata* (V. 19.15), Bhagadatta, king of Prāgyotiṣa or Assam, marshalled the Cīnas and the Kirātas in the great battle of Kurukṣetra. The name Cīna is famous in Sanskrit literature. Cilāta is the same as Sanskrit Kirāta and Greek Kirrādai (*Periplus*, 62, Ptolemy, VII. 2.2), Kirradia (Ptolemy, VII. 2.16) or Tiladai (*ib.*, VII. 2.15). In the *Milindapañho* there are two passages which mention a number of places that were used to be visited by merchants for purposes of trade. In both these lists we have the mention of Cīna-Cilāta. The printed text of the *Milindapañho*, however, reads Cīna-vilāta; but Sylvain Lévi (*Études Asiatique*, II. 24) has rightly contended that Vilāta is an error for Cilāta. The peoples of this country are described by the *Periplus* as a "race of men with flattened nose, very savage," and by Ptolemy as dwarfs with flat face and white skin.

(v) The city of Tosala or Tosali is to be identified with modern Dhauli (Puri District, Orissa), where a set of the Fourteen Rock Edicts of Aśoka have been found. The name Dhauli appears to have sprung from Tosali through the intermediate forms Tohali and Dhoali. In literature, the country of Tosala is always associated with (South) Kosala (modern Raipur, Bilaspur and Sambalpur Districts). Some mediaeval inscriptions (*Ep. Ind.*, IX. 286; XV. 2) mention Uttara-Tosala and Dakṣiṇa-Tosala. The country is to be identified with the Puri District, and parts of the adjoining districts, of Orissa.

The city is generally taken to be the same as the Tosalei metropolis, which was, according to the *Geography* of Ptolemy,

situated in the trans-Gangetic India. Vogel may be right in identifying it with Dosara of Ptolemy and Dosarene of the Periplus.

(vi) Avaramta (Aparānta) is now generally identified with the Northern Konkan. It had its capital at Sūrpāraka, modern Sopārā in the Thana District, Bombay Presidency.

(vii) Vogel appears to be wrong when he says that "Vaṅga is the ancient name of Bengal." It seems to be impossible that the whole of the modern presidency of Bengal was meant by the term Vaṅga in the third century A.D. The country of Vaṅga may be identified with Central and Eastern Bengal, along with a part of Southern Bengal (Ray Chaudhuri, *Ind. Antiquities*, 184 ff.).

(viii) The country of Vanavāsī (B. Gaz., I. ii. 278, n. 2) appears to be the same as modern Kanara. The capital is to be identified with the modern town of Banavāsī in the North Kanara District of the Bombay Presidency. Vogel seems to be wrong in identifying it with "Banavāsī, a village or small town in the Shimoga District of the Mysore State" (*Ep. Ind.*, XX. 8).

(ix) The exact situation of the Yavana country (that is, the country inhabited by the Yavanas or Yaunas, the Greeks) is not yet known. It is not certain whether Yavana means here the ancient dominions of the Greek emperor of Syria or the land of the Yonas, referred to in the third Rock Edict of Aśoka. According to the Mahābhārata (XII. 207. 43), we know, the country of the Yaunas lay in the Uttarāpatha. The city of Alasanda, mentioned in the Mahāvamśa, has been identified by Geiger with Alexandria, founded by Alexander the Great near Kabul (Geiger, *Mahāvamśa*, 194). According to the Milindapañho the Indo-Greek king Minander (Milinda) was born at Kalasigāma in the *dipa* of Alasanda or Alexandria (Trenckner, *Milindapañho*, 82-3). The capital where Menander ruled was at Sākala, modern Sialkot in the Punjab. The Indian Yavana country may possibly be the same as Alasanda of the Indian literature, which appears to have been somewhere about modern Afghanistan.

(x) & (xi) The reading of the names Damila and Palura is not quite certain. Damila, however, can be no other than the country of the Tamil people. Palura, if the reading be accepted, may be identified with Ptolemy's Paloura (Geography, VII. i, § 16), which has been taken to be the Dravidian form of the name of the famous city, Dantapura, the ancient capital of Kalinga. Cf. Pal (tooth) + ur (city) = Danta (tooth) + pura (city). But we cannot be definite on this point. First because the reading is doubtful ; secondly the connection of the name with Dantapura is conjectural ; and thirdly Dantapura is known to be a city, while all the names in our list appear to designate countries or provinces. The site of Dantapura has not been definitely identified. We have reference to the Dantapura-vāsaka in the Purle plates of the Gaṅga king Indravarman (6th century A.D.) edited in *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 361, where it has been suggested that the name survives in that of the fort of Dantavakra near Chicacole in the Ganjam District of the Madras Presidency. The Jirjingi copper-plate grant of Indravarman was also issued from Dantapura.

Śrīparvata (Nagarjunikonda according to H. Sastri), where the Cula-dhammagiri-vihāra was built, appears to be the same as the Śrīśaila in the Kurnool District, Madras Presidency. Vijayapurī (the Ikṣvāku capital, according to Jayaswal, *Hist. Ind.*, p. 173, which was situated to the west of Śrīparvata cannot be satisfactorily identified.

The same *upāsikā* Bodhisiri here claims also the construction of a caitya-hall at the Kulaha-vihāra ; a shrine for the Boddhi-tree at the Sihala-vihāra ; one cell at the Great Dhammagiri ; a *maṇḍapa*-pillar at the Mahāvihāra ; a hall for religious practices at Devagiri ; a tank, a veranda and a *maṇḍapa* at Puvaseḷa ; a stone-*maṇḍapa* at the eastern gate of the Great Caitya at Kaṇṭakasela ; three cells at Hirumuṭhuva ; seven cells at Papilā ; and a stone-*maṇḍapa* at Puphagiri.

All the localities mentioned in this connection cannot be satisfactorily identified. The name of the Kulahavihāra reminds

us of the Kulahaka family, which, as we have suggested above, was probably matrimonially connected with the Ikṣvākus. The Sīhala (Sinhala, *i.e.*, Ceylon)-Vihāra appears to have been a convent "founded either by a Singhalese, or more probably, for the accommodation of Singhalese monks." This Sīhala-vihāra contained a shrine for the Bodhi-tree (*Bodhivṛkṣa-prāsāda*). It is interesting to note that the Bodhi-tree is a necessary adjunct of the Ceylonese Vihāras even at the present time. Puvaseḷa (Purvaśaila), as has been discussed above, is mentioned by Ywan Chowang as Fu-p'o-shi-lo, where resided a Buddhist sect known as the Purvaśailīyas. The Pūrvaśailīya *ācāryas* have been referred to in a fragmentary pillar inscription discovered at Alluru, of which we shall have occasion to speak afterwards. Kaṇṭakasela has been rightly taken to be the same as the emporium Kantakassula mentioned by Ptolemy (Geography, VII. i, § 15) immediately after the river Maisōlos (the Krishna) in the land called Maisōlia (Masulipattan). Kaṇṭakassula has been identified with the town of Ghaṇṭaśālā, which lies between the village of Guduru and the mouth of the Krishna (*cf.* Ptolemy's location : Mouth of the river Maisōlos.....Kantakassula, a mart..... Koddoura, *loc. cit.*). Mr. Rea discovered (South Ind. Antiquities, p. 132) at this place the remains of a *stūpa* which, he thought, date from the beginning of the Christian era. The remains almost certainly belong to the Great Caitya mentioned in this inscription.

The Nagarjunikonda inscription dated in the 18th year of king Virapurisadata records the building of "a stone-shrine, surrounded by a cloister and provided with every necessary at the foot of the Mahācetiya" for the acceptance of the Aparamahāvinaseliyas, by the Mahātalavarī Cāmtisiri, sister of king Cāmtamūla I, wife of the Pūkiya chief Vāsiṣṭhīputra Khamḍasiri and mother of Khamḍasāgaramnaga, desiring the longevity, strength and victory of her own son-in-law (*apano jāmātuka*), king Māṭharīputra Virapurisadata, and for the attainment of *hita* and *sukha* in both the worlds by herself. As we have said above, it

is to be noted that an inscription of the 6th year of king Virapurisadata calls Lady Cāmtisiri the king's *pituchā* (father's sister); here, however, the king is represented as the son-in-law of the lady. Vogel therefore thinks that Virapurisadata married his cousin, a daughter of his aunt Cāmtisiri, between the 6th and the 18th year of his reign.

The Jaggayyapetta inscriptions are dated in the 20th year of king Virapurisadata. The royal genealogy is not given in these inscriptions. They record the erection of five *āyaka-thambhas* (entrance-pillars) at the eastern gate of the Mahā-cetiya of Lord Buddha, by the manufacturer (*avesani*) Sudatha (Siddhārtha) resident of the village of Mahā-Kādurūra and son of the manufacturer Nakacada (Nāka- or Nāga-candra) of Nadatūra in the Kamaka-raṭha. Kamakaraṭha seems to be the same as the Karmarāṣṭra of later inscriptions. As for the suffix *-ka*, we may notice the passages *ujanikā-mahārā(ja)-bālikā* and *vanavāsaka-mahārāja*, etc., of the Nagarjunikonda inscriptions. Karmarāṣṭra has been identified with northern part of the Nellore and southern part of the Guntur Districts.

4. *Ehuvula (Bāhubala ?) Cāmtamūla, II. (Śāntamūla) II.*

King Mātharīputra Virapurisadata was succeeded by his son Ehuvula Cāmtamūla, born of queen Vāsiṣṭhī Bhaṭidevā. It is interesting to note that the custom of naming a grandson after his grandfather was prevalent among the Southern Ikṣvākus, as it was in many other ruling dynasties of ancient India. It has been noticed by Dr. Hirananda Sastri (*Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 6, n. 2), that this custom is sanctioned by Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya (I. i. 1) where we have *tripuruṣānukam nāmakṛtaṁ kuryāt*; Kayyāta on this passage has *pitā tasya ye trayah puruṣās = tān = anukāyaty = abhidhatte*.

Two inscriptions of king Vāsiṣṭhīputra Ehuṇḍa Cāṃtamūla II have so far been discovered, one at Nagarjunikonda and the other at the adjacent village of Kottampalugu. The Nagarjunikonda inscription dated in the 2nd year of the king, records the establishment of a *viḥāra* by the Mahādevī Bhaṭṭidevā, daughter-in-law of king Vāsiṣṭhīputra Cāṃtamūla I, wife of king Mātharīputra Virapurisadata and mother of king Vāsiṣṭhīputra Ehuṇḍa Cāṃtamūla II, for the *ācāryas* of the Bahusūtiya sect. The Bahusūtiyas are a branch of the Mahāsaṃghikas.

The Kottampalugu inscription, dated in the 11th year of king Ehuṇḍa Cāṃtamūla II, records the construction of a *viḥāra* by Kodabalisiri (Kundavallīśrī), Mahādevī of the Mahārāja of Banavāsaka, grand-daughter of king Cāṃtamūla I, daughter of king Virapurisadata and sister of king Ehuṇḍa Cāṃtamūla II, for the acceptance of the *ācāryas* of the Mahīśāsaka sect. The Ikṣvāku princess Kodabalisiri, as we have noticed above, was possibly the queen of a Cuṭu-Śātakarṇi king of Banavāsī. The Buddhist sect of the Mahīśāsakas are mentioned also in other early inscriptions. A saṃghārāma is known to have been built for the Mahīśāsaka *ācāryas* somewhere in the Punjab, when the Hūṇa king Toramāna was ruling (*Ep. Ind.*, I. 239).

5. Importance of the Ikṣvāku Period.

The Ikṣvāku inscriptions discovered at Jaggayyapetta in the Kistna District and Nagarjunikonda (including Kottampalugu) in the Guntur District are of great importance to the history of Buddhism.

Dr. Dutt thinks (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, V. 794) that the site of Nagarjunikonda was a famous resort of Buddhism in the early years of the Christian era and, probably, also an early centre of Mahāyāna. "Just as Bodhi-Gaya grew up on the bank

of the Nerañjanā as a very early centre of Hīnayāna and a place of pilgrimage for the early Buddhists, so also did Amarāvati (extending to Jaggayyapetta) and Nagarjunikonda on the bank of the Kṛṣṇā (including the tributary Paler) as a flourishing centre of proto-Mahāyāna in the pre-Christian and the early Christian era and a place of pilgrimage for the later Buddhists." The construction of the Amarāvati *stūpa*, with its enlargements, decorations and railings, is placed between *circa* 2nd century B.C. and 2nd century A.D. (Burgess, Arch. Surv. South. Ind., 122-3) while that of the *stūpas* of Jaggayyapetta and Nagarjunikonda has been placed in or before the 3rd or the 4th century A.D. (*Ep. Ind.*, XX. 2 ; *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, VII. 634).

The *stūpas* of Amarāvati appear to have been built at the time of the Sātavāhana suzerainty. That the later Sātavāhanas, who were possibly Brahmanical in faith, showed great favour towards the Buddhists is known to all readers of the Sātavāhana inscriptions. They appear to have strong Buddhist leaning, if some of them were not actually Buddhists themselves. The successors of the later Sātavāhanas, the early Ikṣvākus, were however staunch followers of the Brahmanical faith. Vāsiṣṭhīputra Cāṃtamūla I, as we have seen, has been credited with the performance of the *agnihotra*, *agniṣṭoma*, *vājapeya* and the *aśvamedha* sacrifices. Evidently Buddhism suffered during the period of this king.

With the accession of Māṭharīputra Virapurisadata on the Ikṣvāku throne, a new era began with the Buddhists of the Kistna-Guntur region. The great *stūpas* of Jaggayyapetta and Nagarjunikonda were built, repaired or extended, and Buddhist Therīs were coming for pilgrimage from all the Buddhist countries of the world to this centre of Buddhism. The mention of Sīhala-vihāra and of the dedication of a *cetiya*ghara specially to the Therīs of Ceylon points to the good relation that must have existed between the Buddhist communities of the Ikṣvāku country and their co-religionists of the Island of Ceylon. Thus we see, Buddhism was in its heyday at the time of the later Ikṣvākus.

The existence of such relations among the Buddhist communities of the different countries can be accounted for from the sea-trade, which was carried on between the ports of Ceylon and other countries on the one hand and those situated on the mouths of the Krishna and the Godavari on the other. Kaṇṭakaseḷa, the great emporium on the bank of the Krishna, appears to have played a large part in this international trade. Dr. Vogel seems to be right in thinking that this trade was largely responsible for the flourishing state of Buddhism in this part of India (*Ep. Ind.*, XX. 10).

The collapse of Buddhism in the lower Krishna valley appears to have begun with the decline of the Ikṣvāku power. As a cause of this collapse, Vogel refers to the "rising of the powerful dynasties devoted to Brahmanism like the Pallava in the south and the Chālukya in the west." It must, however, also be added that the immediate successors of the Ikṣvākus in the rule of the Andhradeśa were all staunch Brahmanists. After the decline of the Ikṣvākus, we know, the Kistna-Guntur region passed to the Br̥hatphalāyanas and the Pallavas. Both of these dynasties were Brahmanical Hindus, and the latter claimed to have performed the *āśvamedha* sacrifice, which is evidently a sign of aggressive Hinduism. Br̥hatphalāyana Jayavarman, as we shall see, was a devotee of Lord Maheśvara. The Pallava king Sivaskandavarman is known to have performed not only the great Brahmanical sacrifices, *Āśvamedha* and *Agniṣṭoma*, but also the *Vājapeya* (*Ep. Ind.*, I. 2). Not a single king of the Śālaṅkāyana and the Viṣṇukunḍin line is as yet known to have Buddhist leanings. On the contrary, we have a Śālaṅkāyana king who performed one *Āśvamedha* sacrifice and a Viṣṇukunḍin king who performed no less than eleven *Āśvamedhas* and thousand *Agniṣṭomas*. Nevertheless Buddhism did not die away all at once. The Buddhist faith of an Ānanda king of Guntur, who appears to have ruled about the end of the 4th century or the beginning of the 5th, clearly shows that Buddhism lingered in the Andhra country, although the glory it enjoyed at the end

of the later Sātavāhanas and the Ikṣvākus was long a thing of the past. Later traces of Buddhism in the Amarāvātī region are found in the Amarāvātī pillar inscription (S. Ind. Inserr., I, pp. 26-7) of the Pallava chief Simhavarman (c. A. D. 1100) probably a vassal of Kulottuṅga Cola I (Sewell, List of Hist. Inserr. of South. Ind., p. 90) and another Amarāvātī pillar inscription of Koṭa Keta II, from which we know that "Buddhist worship at the old *stūpa* was still maintained and Keta II gave grants in its support" (*Ep. Ind.*, VI. 146; Sewell, *op. cit.*, s.v. A. D. 1182). Another inscription records the grant of a lamp to the Buddhist *stūpa* of Amarāvātī made by Bayyalā, daughter of the Nātavāḍi chief Rudra. This also shows that Buddhist worship was maintained in the Andhra country as late as A. D. 1234 (Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 141).

CHAPTER II

THE BRĤATPHALĀYANAS.

1. *Jayavaṃma* (*Jayavarman*).

A copper-plate grant of a rājā (mahārāja, according to the legend of the seal attached to the plates) named Jayavaṃma, who belonged to the Brĥatphalāyana gotra, was discovered at Kondamudi in the Tenali tāluka of the Kistna District (*Ep. Ind.*, VI.315).¹ No other king of this family is as yet known from inscriptions or other sources.

As regards the date of king Jayavarman, Hultzsch says (*loc. cit.*) : "The alphabet of his inscription shows that he must have lived in the same period as the Pallava king Sivaskandavarman, who issued the Mayidavolu plates. Further, the language and phraseology of the inscription are so similar to the Nasik inscriptions of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi (Nos. 4 and 5) and Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāyi (No. 3) that Jayavarman's date cannot have been very distant from that of those two Andhra kings. The archaic Sanskrit alphabet of the seal of the new plates is corroborative evidence in the same direction." King Jayavarman Brĥatphalāyana may, then, be placed in the closing years of the 3rd or the early years of the 4th century A.D.

The grant was issued in the 10th year of Jayavarman's reign from the *viṣaya-skandhāvāra* (victorious camp) of Kudūra (modern Guduru, 4 miles north-west of Masulipattān), which

¹ According to Sewell (*Hist. Ins. South. Ind.*, p. 17), "it is just possible that it (*i.e.* the name *Jayavarman*) may have been a name assumed by Bappa (*i.e.*, father of Pallava Sivaskandavarman)." The suggestion however is utterly untenable in view of the fact that Jayavarman of the Kondamudi plates belonged to the Brĥatphalāyana gotra while the Pallavas are known to have belonged to the Bhāradvāja gotra.

seems to be the same as Koddoura, mentioned in the Geography of Ptolemy (VII. i, § 15) as a place in Maisôlia (Masulipattan).¹

The Kondamudi plates record an order of king Jayavarman, who has been described as *mahessara-pāda-parigahita* and was, therefore, evidently a devotee of Śiva (Maheśvara), to the *vāpata* (*vyāpṛta*) at Kudūra to execute the grant of a Brahmadeya (religious gift to Brahmans) made by the king. *Vyāpṛta*, according to Hemacandra, is the same as *niyogin*, *āyukta* and *karmasaciva* (cf. *niyogī karmasaciva āyukto vyāpṛtaś = ca sah*). A *vyāpṛta* was therefore an executive officer. The Brahmadeya was made of the village of Pāmtura (Panduru in the Bandar or Masulipattan tāluکا according to Dubreuil) in Kudūrahāra, i.e., the āhāra or district of Kudūra (cf. Sūtavāhani-hāra in the Myakadoni inscription of Pulumāvi, *Ep. Ind.*, XIV. 154). It is therefore apparent that the *vyāpṛta* was in charge of the Kudūra District and held his office at the chief town of the same name.

Scholars think that Kudūrahāra of the Kondamudi grant is the same as the Kudrāhāra-*viṣaya* of the Śālaṅkāyana inscriptions and Gudrāhāra, Gudrāvāra and Gudrūra of later inscriptions. The identification may not be impossible. It is, in that case, necessary to think that Kudūrahāra which originally meant "the āhāra of Kudūra" gradually became used as a place-name itself; because Kudrāhāra (not Kudūra) was the name of the *viṣaya* (province) at the time of the Śālaṅkāyanas.² According to Dubreuil this province comprised roughly the present Bandar (Masulipattan) tāluکا. This region, occupied once by the Br̥hatphalāyanas was, as we shall see later on, in the possession of the Śālaṅkāyanas of Veṅgī in the 5th century A.D.

The recipients of the Brahmadeya were the following Brahmans :—Gotama-gota-jāyāpara³ Savagataja (Sarvaguptārya),

¹ The town of Kudūra is also mentioned in an inscription of Amaravati (see Lüders' List, No. 1295).

² Compare Khetaka āhāra and Khetakāhāra *viṣaya* (Bomb. Gaz., Vol. I, Pt. ii, p. 382).

³ The word *jāyāpara*, according to Sanskrit lexicons, means *kāmuka*, which meaning does not seem applicable here. Hultzsch thinks that the passage possibly means a "gr̥hastha belonging to the Gautama-gotra" (*Ep. Ind.*, VI. 315).

Savigija of the Tānava (Tānavya)gotra; Goginaja and Bhavamnaja of the Koḍina (Kaundinya) gotra; Rudavenhuja (Rudra-
viṣṇvārya) of the Bhāradāya (Bhāradvāja) gotra ; Ruda-
ghosaja (Rudraghoṣārya) of the Opamamnava (Aupamanyava)
gotra; Īsaradataja (Īśvaradattārya) of the Kamphāyana (Kārṣṇā-
yana) gotra; and Khamdarudaja (Skandarudrārya) of the Kosika
(Kauśika) gotra. The affix *-aja* (= *ārya*) added to the names of
these Brāhmanas survives even to the present time in Madras
names like Veṅkāyya (Veṅkārya), Rāmāyya (= Rāmārya), etc.,
and in the surname Āyyar (= Ārya).

The *Parihāras* (immunities) granted are interesting to note.
They are *apāvesa*, *anomasa*, *aloṇakhādaka*, *araṭhasavinayika*,
etc. *Apāvesa* is evidently the same as *abhaṭapraveśa* (exem-
ption from the entrance of an army) of other South Indian in-
scriptions. *Anomasa* has been taken to mean " exemption
from being meddled with." The third *Parihāra*, viz., *aloṇa-
khādaka*, made the village free from being dug for salt. The
salt-mines of the country were evidently property of the king.
The term *araṭhasavinayika* has been translated by Senart as
" not to be interfered by the District Police." (Below, p. 52).

The grant was executed by the *mahātagivara*, *mahādaṇḍa-
nāyaka* (field-marshal) Bhāpahānavamṇa. *Mahātagivara*, accord-
ing to Vogel, is a mistake for *Mahātalavara* which occurs so
many times in the inscriptions of the Ikṣvākus (see above,
pp. 15f.). Possibly it was the custom for an official to write
down the oral order of the king (*aviyena ānataṃ*). The grant
is said to have been signed by the king himself (*sayam chato*).

The seal attached to the Kondamudi plates has, in the
centre, a trident in relief, the handle of which seems to end
in an arrow, a bow (?), the crescent of the moon and an
indistinct symbol of roughly triangular shape. Round the
margin of the seal runs a Sanskrit legend in archaic characters,
which differ totally from those employed on the plates. (*Ep.
Ind.*, VI. 315.)

2. *Capital of the Br̥hatphalāyanas.*¹

The only copper-plate grant of the Br̥hatphalāyana dynasty, belonging to king Jayavamma (Jayavarmman) Br̥hatphalāyana, was discovered, as we have already seen, at Kondamudi a place in the Tenāli *tāluka* of the Kistna District (*Ep. Ind.*, VI. 315). We have also seen that the grant was issued in the 10th regnal year of Jayavamma from *viṣaya-khaṃdhāvārā nagarā Kudūrāto* i.e., from the *viṣaya-skandhāvāra* at the city of Kudūra. It is for this reason that scholars have taken Kudūra (modern Guduru near Masulipattan) to be the capital where the Br̥hatphalāyanas ruled. Prof. Dubreuil, as for instance, writes: "The Kondamudi plates (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 315) are dated in the 10th year of King Jayavarman, of the Br̥hatphalāyanas, who reigned at Kudūra;" and again: "the town of Kudūra, which was the capital of Jayavarman in the III century of the Christian era, is but the modern village of Guduru, which is 4 miles west-north-west of Masulipattan and 6 miles from Ghaṇṭasālā....." (*Anc. Hist. Dec.*, pp. 84-85). The Professor has rightly identified the place with Koddoura in the country of Maisōlia (Masulipattan), mentioned in the Geography of Ptolemy.

It is, however, interesting to note that Koddoura 135° 11' 20" has been mentioned not as a metropolis, but as an ordinary place in Maisōlia (*Geog. VII. i, § 15*) by Ptolemy who is believed to have written his Geography in about the middle of the 2nd century A.D. The archaic characters used on the seal of the Kondamudi grant and its phraseological connection with the grants of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi assign the grant to the 2nd half of the 3rd cent. or the first half of the 4th. Should we then believe that the Br̥hatphalāyanas became a ruling power just after the decline of the Sātavāhanas in the early years of the 3rd cent. A.D. and established themselves at

¹ My paper on the capital of the Br̥hatphalāyanas was originally published in *Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, VII, pp. 170-1. There however Jayavarman was placed a little earlier.

Kudūra (Koddoura) from where they issued charters as early as the end of the 3rd or the beginning of the 4th century? It is, however, far more natural to think that they were originally a local ruling power under the suzerainty of the Sātavāhanas and gradually rose to prominence during and after the latter's decline.

The city of Kudūra has been called a *viṣaya-skandhāvāra* in the Kondamudi grant. The word *skandhāvāra* generally means "a camp"; but according to the lexicographer Hemacandra it may also signify "a metropolis." While on expedition, oriental kings are known to have held courts in camps. The use of the term *skandhāvāra* in the sense of a metropolis is most probably due to such a practice. *Skandhāvāra* (as sometimes also possibly the term *vāsaka*) appears to mean a temporary residence, and therefore a temporary capital, of a king.¹ It is, therefore, very doubtful whether the *viṣaya-skandhāvāra* of king Jayavarman Br̥hatphalāyana could be the permanent capital of the Br̥hatphalāyanas.

The town of Kudūra, which was the political centre of Kudūrahāra, *i.e.*, the Kudūra District, has been identified, as we have already seen, with a village in the Bandar or Masulipattan tāluka. The find of the plates at Kondamudi appears to prove that this region was a part of the Br̥hatphalāyana kingdom

¹ It is interesting in this connection to refer to Yuan Chwang's account of the capital of Mahārāṣṭra (Mo-ho-la-ch'a) under Pulakeśin II (Pu-lo-ki-she) of the Western Calukya dynasty (Beal, *Bud. Records of the Western World*, II, p. 255; also his *Life of Hsuen Tsiang*, p. 146). From the inscriptions of the Calukyas and their inveterate enemy, the Pallavas, there can be no doubt that the capital of Pulakeśin II was at Vātāpi, modern Badami in the Bijapur District of the Bombay Presidency. Now, the surroundings of Badami, as scholars have noticed, do not answer to the description given by the Chinese pilgrim, and its distance from Broach (435 miles) is altogether incommensurate with the distance of 1000 li (about 167 miles) as specified by Yuan Chwang. Scholars therefore now generally agree with the view of Fleet that the town in question is Nasik, about 128 miles to the south-south-east of Broach. Fleet seems to be right when he suggests: "We have therefore to look for some subordinate but important town, far to the north of Badami, which was mistakenly spoken of as the capital by Hsuen Tsiang; most probably because it was the basis of the operations against Harshavardhana of Kanauj, and because in connection with these operations, Pulikeśi II happened to be there at the time." (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, Pt. ii, p. 355.)

in about 300 A.D. The capital of the Br̥hatphalāyanas seems therefore not to be very far from the Masulipattan region.

In this connection it is very interesting to note that Ptolemy makes mention of the *metropolis of Pitundra* (135° 12°) in the country of the people called Maisōloi. (Geog., VII. i, § 93). In *op. cit.*, § 79, the Maisōloi are placed near the country of the Salakēnoi (=Śālaṅkāyanas of Veṅgi) and in § 15, their country has been called Maisōlia (=Masulipattan). Their metropolis, Pitundra, has been identified by Prof. Sylvain Lévi with Pihunda of the Uttarādhyāyana and Pithuḍa of the Hathigumpha inscription of king Khāravela (*Ind. Ant.*, 1926, 145). We have seen that the Br̥hatphalāyanas ruled over the Masulipattan region, which is to be identified with Maisōlia of Ptolemy. Pitundra, the capital of Maisōlia in the time of Ptolemy (middle of the 2nd cent.) appears therefore almost certainly to have been the capital of the family of Jayavarman Br̥hatphalāyana, ruler of the Masulipattan region in the end of the 3rd or the beginning of the 4th century.

If we now accept the reading *pithuḍa* in a passage of the Hathigumpha inscription (line 11) of Khāravela and the interpretation that king Khāravela of Kalinga besieged the city of Pithuḍa, it is not impossible to think that the Br̥hatphalāyanas were ruling at Pithuḍa=Pitundra as early as the time of Khāravela (2nd or 1st century B.C.).

APPENDIX A.

DOES THE ALLURU INSCRIPTION SPEAK OF A KING CALLED SANA?

In the year 1924, Mr. N. L. Rao discovered at Alluru (Nandigramā tāluka of the Kistna District) five miles from Yerrupalem, on the Bezvada-Hyderabad Railway line, an old Brāhmī inscription and the remains of an old Buddhist stūpa, at about two furlongs to the west of the village. A facsimile of the inscription (No. 331 of 1924), along with a short note on it, was published in the Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy for the year ending 31st March, 1924. The inscription was afterwards edited by Dr. R. Shamasastri in the *Calcutta Review* for July, 1925. According to the transcript published in the Review, the epigraph refers to *jayadharmā* (line 2), and *cāradharma* (line 5), and to Sana, king of the Ayis (lines 16-7), who is supposed to be the grantor of some gifts. The Report rightly says that the inscription may be palaeographically assigned to the 2nd century A.D. If, then, Dr. Shamasastri's reading and interpretation be correct, a king called Sana ruled over some parts, at least, of the Kistna District in about that period, i.e., a little before the time of Jayavarman Br̥hatphalāyana.

It will, however, be seen from the facsimile that the transcript published in the *Calcutta Review* is faulty in many places, and the words read as *jayadhama* and *cāradhama* here, are clearly *deyadhama* (pious gift) and *cāraṭhema* (?) respectively. Here, however, we shall only examine the passage where the name of the king has been read.

The Alluru inscription is very important from the palaeographical point of view. Though it is a fragment, all the letters that have been preserved are perfectly legible; and an interesting point is that in lines 7 and 13 we have a peculiar form —[𑀕]—.

This figure has been taken to be स both in the Report and in the Review.

According to the report the inscription records the gift of "a certain Mahātalavara accompanied by his wife, son and daughter-in-law." Evidently the Report reads in line 16 : *sabhā-riyasa saputakasa sanasakasa* and finds in the last word a Prakrit corruption of the Sanskrit word *snuṣā* (daughter-in-law). In the transcript of the *Calcutta Review*, the last word of the passage has been read as *sanasa kata* (made by Sana). The letter after क is certainly स; but the letter after *sana* is that interesting figure we have referred to above.

I have no doubt that the letter which has been read as स, is anything but that. The letter स occurs many times in the inscription and in all cases the right side of the letter is prolonged upward to about the same height as that of the left side — [स]—. It is clear that this form of स, with the right side considerably raised upward, has been purposely used by the scribe to avoid a confusion between this letter and the स-like form already referred to, which occurs twice in the inscription. There can hardly be any doubt that the स-like form is to be read as तु. It is certainly the original form from which the forms तु (=तु), तु (=तु), etc., of later inscriptions were developed. I, therefore, read line 16 of the Alluru inscription as *eta sabhāriyasa saputakasa sanatukasa*. In the last word, then, we get *napti* (grandson) and not *snuṣā* (daughter-in-law), and the word really means "accompanied by (his) grandson" and not "accompanied by his daughter-in-law." From what has been said, it is clear that there is not the slightest reference to any person named Sana in line 16 of the Alluru inscription.¹ As regards the passage *ayirāna* (line 17), interpreted as "the king of the Ayis," it may be left out without any serious consideration. The line

¹ It must be noted that in line 7, where also this form of तु occurs, the word has been read in the *Calcutta Review* as *casarisa* and has been translated as "twenty-six." I do not know how the word *casarisa* can mean twenty-six. The word is certainly *catvrisa*, that is, twenty-four.

(line 17) *ayirāna puvaseliyāna nigāyasa* should certainly be *āryānām pūrvasailīyānām nikāyasya* in Sanskrit. Cf. *ayira-hamgha* = Sanskrit *āryasamgha* in the Nagarjunikonda inscriptions.

Though it does not mention the name of any king, the Alluru inscription is important to the student of the history of South Indian Buddhism. It records the gift of lands and some other things to the *nikāya* of the *pūrvasailīya āryas*. The *Pūrvasaila* or *Pūrvasilā* has been mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang as *Fu-p'o-shih-lo* (Watters, On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, II. 214), and in the inscription F. of Nagarjunikonda as *Puvaseia* (Ep. Ind., XX. 22). The grantor of the gifts is a certain Mahātālavara which word, as we have already seen, occurs several times in the Nagarjunikonda inscriptions and which probably means "a governor." (Tamil Lexicon, pub. Madras University, s.v. *talaivan*.) The gifts appear to be in the shape of some *nivartanas*¹ of land, cows (*gavi*), bullocks and carts (*balivadha-sakaṭa*), men-servants and women-servants (*dāsi-dāsa*), pans (*kubhi-kaṭāha*), iron-vessels (*lohiyo* = Sanskrit *lohikā*), vessels made of bell-metal (*kasasa bhāyana*), etc., etc. There are also references to the dedication of a *taḷāka* (pond), of *kārṣāpaṇas* and of an *akṣayanīvi* (permanent endowment) of a thousand *purāṇas* (*purāṇa-sahasā*).

¹ According to Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, II. 20, one *nivartana* appears to have been 240 × 240 square cubits. According to a commentator of the Arthaśāstra, however, it was 120 × 120 square cubits only. Whereas the *daṇḍa* (rod) is equal to 8 cubits according to Kauṭilya, it is equal only to 4 cubits according to the commentator. It may be conjectured that the measuring rod was 8 cubits long in some parts of ancient India, while in other parts it was only 4 cubits long. Measuring rods are not uniform in all the provinces or districts of India even at the present day.

For *daṇḍa* = 6 ft. (4 cubits), see Fleet's note at p. 541 of the Eng. Tran. of the Arthaśāstra (1st ed.), by Shamasastri.

CHAPTER III

THE ĀNANDAS.

1. *Hiranyagarbha*.¹

As the word *Hiranyagarbha* has some bearing on the question of the genealogy of the Ānandas, we shall deal with this term first.

According to Sanskrit Lexicons, the word *Hiranyagarbha* has two principal meanings. First, it is a well-known epithet of Lord Brahman; secondly, it is the name of one of the *ṣoḍaśa-mahādāna*, i.e., the sixteen Great Gifts, which are enumerated and explained in books like the *Matsya-Purāṇa*, *Hemādri's Vratakhanda* and *Vallālasena's Dānasāgara*. The sixteen *mahādānas* are *dāna* (offering) of the following things :—

- | | |
|---------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Tulāpuruṣa | 9. Dharā |
| 2. Hiranyagarbha | 10. Hiranyāśvaratha |
| 3. Brahmāṇḍa | 11. Hemahastiratha |
| 4. Kalpapādapa | 12. Viṣṇucakra |
| 5. Gosahasra | 13. Kalpalatā |
| 6. Hiranyakūmadhenu | 14. Saptasāgara |
| 7. Hiranyāśva | 15. Ratnadhenu |
| 8. Pañcalāṅgala | 16. Mahābhūtaghaṭa |

These names are more or less of a technical character. They have been explained in full details in the *Mahādānāvarta* section of the *Dānasāgara*, Chapter V of the *Vratakhanda* and Chapters 247 ff. of the *Matsya-Purāṇa*.

The word *Hiranyagarbha* occurs several times in the inscriptions of some South Indian kings. In the *Gorantla*

¹ This paper has been published in J.R.A.S., July, 1934. A paper explaining the term *hiranyagarbha* was published by me in the *Bhārataraṇa* (Bengali), Bhādra, 1310 B.S., p. 393 f.

inscription (Ind. Ant., IX. 102f.), king Attivarman is called *aprameya-hiranyagarbha-prasava*, which phrase was translated by Fleet, the editor of the Gorantla inscription, as “who is the posterity of the inscrutable (god) Hiranyagarbha,” i.e., Brahman. In the Mahakuta pillar inscription of the Cālukya-king Maṅgaleśa (*ibid.*, XIX. 9ff.) we have the passage *hiranyagarbha-sambhūta*. Here also Fleet, who edited the inscription, translated the phrase as “who was descended from (the god) Hiranyagarbha (Brahman).” It must be noticed that only particular kings have been connected with Hiranyagarbha in the inscriptions of their respective families. If Fleet’s interpretation is correct, we should have found other kings of the family—wherein one king has been called *Hiranyagarbha-sambhūta*—with titles of the same signification. Moreover, when we notice that, in the Mahakuta pillar inscription, this epithet is given only to Pulakeśin I and not to Jayasimha, the first king mentioned, nor to Maṅgaleśa, the reigning monarch, there remains no doubt that Fleet’s theory is unjustifiable. I, therefore, hold with Hultzsch that the word *Hiranyagarbha*, in these inscriptions, signifies the second of the sixteen *Mahādānas* or Great Gifts.

While editing the Mattepad plates of Dāmodaravarman (Ep. Ind., XVII. 328ff.), Hultzsch remarked: “A similar feat is ascribed to king Attivarman in another copper-plate grant from the Guntur District, where I translate the epithet *aprameya-Hiranyagarbha-prasavena* by ‘who is a producer of (i.e., who has performed) innumerable Hiranyagarbhas.’ Hultzsch, here, evidently takes the passage *hiranyagarbha-prasava* as a case of the *Ṣaṣṭhī-tatpuruṣa* compound, making it mean “*prasava* (origin, producer) of the Hiranyagarbha.” But he was in difficulty with the word *Hiranyagarbha-prasūta*, which occurs in the Ipur grant (No. 1) of the Viṣṇukunḍin king Mādhavavarman I (*ibid.*, p. 335f.). As *prasūta* is an adjective, it cannot make a case of the *Ṣaṣṭhī-tatpuruṣa* compound. Hultzsch, therefore, had to correct the passage as *Hiranyagarbha-prasūti*, i.e., *prasūti* (origin, producer) of the Hiranyagarbha (*ibid.*, p. 336, fn. 7). But when we notice

that the epithet *Hiranyagarbha-prasūta* also occurs in the Polamuru plates of the same Viṣṇukunḍin king (Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc., VI. 17ff.), and further that the Mahakuta pillar inscription has *Hiranyagarbha-sambhūta*, there can be no doubt that Hultzsch is wrong in taking the passage *Hiranyagarbha-prasava* as a case of the *Ṣaṣṭhī-tatpuruṣa* compound. The words *Hiranyagarbha-prasūta* and *Hiranyagarbha-sambhūta* are certainly examples of the *Pañcamī-tatpuruṣa* compound and mean "born of the *Hiranyagarbha*." The word *Hiranyagarbha-prasava* must also mean the same thing. I, therefore, take it as a case of the *Bahuvrīhi* compound meaning "one whose *prasava* (origin, producer, progenitor) is the *Hiranyagarbha*." But how can a king be born of the *Hiranyagarbha*, which we have taken to signify the second of the sixteen Mahādānas?

In the performance of the *Hiranyagarbha-mahādāna* ceremony, the thing to be given away to the Brahmans is a *Hiranyagarbha*, literally, "a golden womb." *Hiranyagarbha* here signifies a golden *kunḍa*, three cubits in height. (Cf.

brāhmaṇair=ānayet kunḍam tapanīya-mayaṁ śubhaṁ
dvāsaptaty-aṅgul-occhrāyaṁ hema-pañkaja-garbha-vat)

To discuss all the details and all the functions of the ceremony is not necessary for our purpose. The quotations, which are all from the 249th Chapter of the *Matsya-Purāṇa*, will sufficiently clear the point.

After the due *arcanā*, the performer of the *Mahādāna* ceremony is to utter a *mantra* in adoration to Lord *Hiranyagarbha* (here, Lord Viṣṇu), two lines of which run :

bhūr-loka-pramukhā lokās=tava garbhe vyavasthitāḥ
brahm-ādayas=tathā devā namas=te viśva-dhāriṇe.

Thereafter the performer enters into the *hiranyagarbha*, i.e., the golden *kunḍa*, and the priests perform the ceremonies of *garbhādhāna*, *pūṁsavana* and *sīmantonayana* of the "golden

womb," as they would do in the case of an ordinary pregnant woman. Cf.

evam = āmantrya tan = madhyam = āviśy = āmbha = udamukhaḥ
muṣṭibhyāṃ parisamgrhya dharmarāja-caturmukhaḥ
jānumadhye śiraḥ kṛtvā tiṣṭheta śvāsa-pañcakaṃ
garbhādhānaṃ pūṃsavanaṃ sīmantonnayanaṃ tathā
kuryur = hiraṇya-garbhasya tatas = te dvija-puṅgavāḥ.

Then the performer is taken out of the "golden womb," and the *jāta-karma* and other necessary functions are performed by the priests, as if the performer is a newly born child. After that, the performer is to utter another *mantra*, wherein occur the following significant lines :

mātr = āhaṃ janitaḥ pūrvaṃ martya-dharmā sur-ottama
tvad-garbha-sambhavād = eṣa divya-deho bhavāmy = aham.

"O the best of gods, previously I was given birth to by my mother (and) was *martya-dharmā* (one having the qualities of an earthly creature). (But) now owing to my (re-)birth from your womb, I become *divya-deha* (one having celestial body)."

That the performer of the *Hiraṇyagarbha-mahādāna* was thought to be "born of the *Hiraṇyagarbha*, *i.e.*, golden womb," is also clear from the next *mantra*, to be uttered by the priests :

adya-jātasya te = 'ngāni c = ābhiṣekṣyāmahe vyaṃ.

After the ceremony is over, the priests receive the gift of that golden womb, along with many other things.

2. Genealogy of the "Ānanda Kings of Guntur." ¹

Two kings of the Ānanda family are known from their inscriptions. They are Attivarman of the Gorantla plates (Ind. Ant., IX. 102f.) and Dāmodaravarman of the Mattepad plates (Ep. Ind., XVII. 327f.). We have already dealt with

¹ See my note on the Ānanda Genealogy in J. R. A. S., July, 1934.

the reference to the word *hiranyagarbha* in the Gorantla inscription and with its different interpretations. Hultzsch rightly says : " When editing the Gorantla plates of Attivarman, my late lamented friend Fleet believed this king (*scil.* Attivarman) to have been a Pallava—chiefly because he interpreted the epithet *aprameya-Hiranyagarbha-prasavena* by 'who is the posterity of the inscrutable (god) Hiranyagarbha.' As I have shown above, the rendering is inadmissible in the light of the corresponding epithet used in the fresh plates, and Fleet himself had since withdrawn his original opinion in his *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, second edition, p. 334 " ¹ (Ep. Ind., XVII. 328). In the Gorantla inscription, Attivarman has been called *kandaranṛpati-kula-samudbhūta*, "sprung from the family of king Kandara;" the family (*kula*), in its turn, is called *ānanda-maharṣi-vamṣa-samudbhūta*, "sprung from the lineage of the great sage Ānanda." On the other hand, the Mattepad plates were issued from Vijaya-Kandara-pura, "victorious city (founded by king) Kandara." Dāmodaravarman is, here, said to have belonged to the Ānanda-gotra. Both the Gorantla and the Mattepad plates were discovered in the Guntur District, Madras Presidency. While editing the Mattepad plates, Hultzsch, on these grounds, suggested that the three kings Kandara,² Attivarman and Dāmodaravarman belonged

¹ "And, now that we know more about the early history and Puranic genealogy of the Pallavas, it is difficult to adapt these details to their accounts, though Attivarman does, like the Pallavas, claim to belong to the posterity of the god Hiranyagarbha, *i.e.*, Brahman. On the other hand, the name Kandhara,—and doubtless Kandara also,—is a variant of Krishṇa; and this suggests that we may possibly have here an early Rāṣṭrakūṭa record." Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* in Bomb. Gaz., I, Part II, p. 334.

² Kandara, Kandhara, Kandhāra, Kanhara, Kanbhāra and Kannara are Prakrit variants of the Sanskrit name Kṛṣṇa (Bomb. Gaz., I, Pt. II, p. 410, note 1). Some inscriptions of the Rāṣṭas of Saundatti style the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III as *Kandhāra-puravarādhīśvara*, supreme lord of Kandhārapura, the best of towns (*ibid.*, pp. 419, 550 and note 6; and 384, note 4). This fact appears to have led Fleet to suggest a Rāṣṭrakūṭa connection of Attivarman (*ibid.*, 386). But as suggested by the same scholar (*ibid.*, 384, note 4) the name of Kandhārapura "may possibly have been invented from an imaginary Kṛishṇapura, derived from some passage similar to that in which the Eastern Chalukya

to the same family and that they may be styled "the Ānanda Kings of Guntur."

The palaeography of the Gorantla and Mattepad records suggests that the rule of king Attivarman and that of king Dāmodaravarman were not separated by a great interval. Considering the facts that the characters of the Gorantla inscription resemble, in some respects, those of the Ikṣvāku inscriptions of Nagarjunikonda (Ep. Ind., XX. 1) and that both Nagarjunikonda, the find-spot of some Ikṣvāku inscriptions, and Kanteru, that of some Śālaṅkāyana inscriptions, are localities of the Guntur District, it seems to me that the Ānanda kings, whose inscriptions are also found in the same district, began to grow powerful in about the beginning of the 4th century A.D., when the Ikṣvāku power was gradually declining. The Nagarjunikonda inscriptions have been assigned to the 3rd century A.D. and, as I shall show below, the Kanteru plates are to be ascribed to the 5th century A.D. Kings Attivarman and Dāmodaravarman may, therefore, be conjecturally placed in the 4th century of the Christian era.

But which of the two kings of the Ānanda family came earlier? According to Hultzsch, the characters of the Gorantla inscription are more developed than those of the Mattepad grant, which is besides partly written in Prakrit ;—"consequently Dāmodaravarman must have been one of the predecessors of Attivarman" (Ep. Ind., XVII. 328).

As regards the first point, viz., that the characters of the Gorantla inscription are more developed, I must say that when two epigraphs belong to the same period it is extremely difficult to determine as to which of them is the earlier. In our section on the Viṣṇukunḍin genealogy below, we shall show that the Viṣṇukunḍin king Mādhavavarman II of the Ipur grant (No. 2) was suggested by Hultzsch, on *palaeographical* grounds, to be the grandfather of Mādhavavarman (I) of the Ipur grant.

(No. 1). We shall also show there that the former was actually not the grandfather, but the grandson, of the latter.¹ Since the handwritings of two different scribes of even the same age may be quite dissimilar, I do not think it impossible that the difference in time between the execution of the Mattepad and that of the Gorantla grant is short and that Dāmodaravarman of the Mattepad grant was a successor of Attivarman on the throne of Kandarapura.²

As regards the second point, *viz.*, that the Mattepad grant is partly written in Prakrit, I am afraid, it is a misrepresentation. In fact, the Mattepad plates are, like the Gorantla plates, written in Sanskrit; but it is true that the names of the Brahman recipients of the king's gift are written in Prakrit, *e.g.*, Kassava-Kumārajja (Sanskrit, Kāśyapa-Kumārārya), etc. We must notice, however, that the Gorantla inscription also exhibits the same peculiarity. I think it even more important that the name of the king is here *Attivarman* and not *Hastivarman*. *Atti* is a Dravidic form of Sanskrit *hastī*, through the literary Prakrit form *hatthi*. Names like Attivarman,³ Kumārajja, etc., only prove that both these grants were issued in a time when the replacement of Prakrit by Sanskrit in South Indian epigraphy was nearly, but not fully, complete.

There are, besides, two other points in support of our suggestion. Firstly, in the Gorantla inscription, the *kandara-nṛpati-kula* has been called *bhagavato vakeśvarādhi-vāsinas* = *tribhuvana-kartuḥ śambhoś* = *carana-kamala-rajah-pavi-*

¹ See also my paper on the Genealogy of the Viṣṇukūṇḍins in *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, IX, 273 ff.

² Cf. "Not only the plates of the Pallavas but also those of the Gaṅgas and the Kadambas prove that the alphabets differ much according to the scribes, who have engraved the plates; and the documents of the same reign do not sometimes resemble one another." *Anc. Hist. Dec.*, pp. 65-66.

³ With the name of Attivarman may be compared that of Attimallan, a feudatory of the Cola king Rājārāja (S. I. I., I, No. 74). Attimallar was also the surname of Kṛṣṇa III Rāṣṭrakūṭa. Compare also Attivarman in Kielhorn's List of S. I. Inserr., No. 1070; and "Attirāja or Attarasa, born at Nārānapura in the Andhra country" in *Bomb. Gaz.*, I, Pt. II, p. 507.

trikṛta, which appears to suggest that Sambhu (Śiva) was the family deity of the Ānanda kings and that they were Śaivas. On the other hand, Dāmodaravarman is called in his inscription *bhagavataḥ samyaksaṃbuddhasya pādānudhyāta*, which clearly shows that he was a Buddhist. If the Ānanda kings prior to Attivarman were Śaivas, Dāmodaravarman who was a Buddhist must have come after Attivarman. Secondly, the inscribed faces of the Mattepad plates of Dāmodaravarman are “numbered consecutively like the pages of a modern book.” This fact also seems to suggest that Dāmodaravarman came after Attivarman.

But what was the relationship between these two kings of the Ānanda family, who, we think, were not far removed from each other in time?

In this connection, I like to draw the attention of readers to the epithet *avandhya-gosaḥasr-āṅka-hiranyagarbh-odbhav-odbhava* applied to the name of king Dāmodaravarman in the Mattepad plates. This epithet has been translated by Hultzsch as “who is the origin of the production (*i.e.*, who has caused the performance) of many Hiranyagarbhas and of (gifts of) thousand pregnant cows.” This translation is defective for several reasons.

We have seen that Hultzsch has wrongly interpreted the passage *Hiranyagarbha-prasava* as the “producer of the Hiranyagarbha.” As we have shown, it should mean “one whose producer is the Hiranyagarbha.” The corresponding passage of the Mattepad plates is *Hiranyagarbh-odbhava*, which means exactly the same thing. Hultzsch says: “he (*scil.* Dāmodaravarman) boasts of having performed certain Brahmanical rites, *viz.*, Gosahasra and Hiranyagarbha (l. 2f.)” But it seems to me utterly untenable that Dāmodaravarman who was professedly a Buddhist performed these rites which are professedly Brahmanical. Besides, if Hultzsch’s interpretation is right, why did the composer use *Hiranyagarbh-odbhav-odbhava*, and not *Hiranyagarbh-odbhava*, which is the naturally expected form? The use of *Hiranyagarbh-odbhav-odbhava* in the sense of “the performer of the Hiranyagarbha” seems to me highly awkward in an

ordinary prose composition. The natural meaning of the phrase *Hiranyagarbh-odbhav-odbhava* is "one whose *udbhava* (producer, father) is *Hiranyagarbh-odbhava* (*i.e.*, performer of the *Hiranyagarbha-mahādāna*)."

As regards *avandhya-gosahasra*, I do not think that the word *avandhya* ever means "pregnant." *Avandhya*, *i.e.* not-barren, which also means *amogha-phal-odaya* (producer of unfailing good and prosperity) according to the Sanskrit Lexicon *Rājanirghaṇṭa*, seems to refer not to *go* as Hultzsch has taken it, but to the *Gosahasra*, the fifth of the sixteen *Mahādānas* of the *Purāṇas*. The whole phrase *avandhya-gosahasr-āneka-hiranyagarbh-odbhav-odbhava*, then, means "one whose *udbhava* (*i.e.*, father) is *Avandhyagosahasra* (*i.e.*, performer of a *Gosahasra* producing unfailing success) and *Aneka-hiranyagarbh-odbhava* (*i.e.*, performer of many *Hiranyagarbhas*).

Now, who is this *Avandhya-gosahasra-Aneka-hiranyagarbh-odbhava*, the *udbhava* (father) of king *Dāmodaravarman*? Curiously enough, in the *Gorantla* inscription, *Attivarman* is called *aprameya-hiranyagarbha-prasava*, which is obviously the same as *aneka-hiranyagarbh-odbhava*. I, therefore, do not think it quite impossible that it is king *Attivarman*, who was the father of king *Dāmodaravarman* of the *Mattepad* plates. It may, however, be argued that the *Mattepad* plates credit the father of king *Dāmodaravarman* with the performance of a *Gosahasra* as well, but there is no reference to this *Mahādāna* in *Attivarman*'s own *Gorantla* grant. The *Gosahasra mahādāna* was possibly performed by *Attivarman* after the execution of the *Gorantla* grant. It may also be a case of the *Argumentum ex Silentio*.

3. *Attivarman* (= *Hastivarman*).

As we have seen, the *Ānanda* king *Attivarman* was a devotee of *Śambhu* (*Śiva*) and performed "many" *Hiranyagarbhas*. The performance of such a costly *mahādāna* as the *Hiranyagarbha*

for more than once (and probably also of a Gosahaśra) seems to show that he was a rich and powerful prince. His epithet *pratāpopanata-sakala-sāmanta-maṇḍala* suggests that there were other ruling chiefs who acknowledged his suzerainty. His inscription tells us that he acquired fame in ruling his subjects with justice.

The Gorantla inscription records the gift of eight hundred *pattis* (pieces) of land in the village of Tāṇṛikoṇṛa on the southern bank of the Kṛṣṇaveṇṇā river and also of the village of Āntukkūra, to a Brahman named Koṭṭiśarman, who belonged to the Kāśyapa-gotra. The name of the village, read now as Tāṇṛikoṇṛa by Hultsch, was originally read by Fleet as Tānthikontha (Ep. Ind., VII. 328). The village has been identified by Hultsch with the modern Tāḍikoṇḍa, ten miles to the north of Guntur and to the south of the Krishna. Āntukkūra, according to him, is probably modern Gani-Ātkūru to the west of Bezvāḍa. The recipient Koṭṭiśarman has been described as knowing the Āpastamba-sūtra and also the three Vedas, viz., Rk, Yajus and Sāman.

The seal of king Attivarman attached to the Gorantla plates is circular. "The emblem on it is probably some god, sitting cross-legged on an altar, but it is anything but clear, even in the original" (Ind. Ant., IX. 102). The figure is sunk in the flat surface of the seal, instead of being raised in relief on a counter-sunk surface as is usually the case.

4. Dāmodaravarman.

We have already said much about this king. The Mattepaḍ grant was issued on the 13th day of the bright half of Kārtika in the 2nd regnal year of the king. It records the grant of the village of Kaṃgūra, with all *parihāras*, to a number of Brahmins. *Parihāra*, i.e., "immunity, privilege, exemption from taxes" is mentioned in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* (Shamasastri's *Śāstram*).

p. 73) and also in the Manusamhitā, VII. 201. The *parihāras* are sometimes stated to be of eighteen kinds, but are very often referred to as *sarvajātāparihāra* (immunities of all kinds). For some of them see page 35 above. A learned discussion on the subject of *parihāras* by Senart who edited the Karle inscriptions is to be found in Ep. Ind., VII, pp. 65-66.¹

1 "The cognate inscriptions have no doubt as to the privileges which were expressly mentioned here; we have to restore *anomasani alonakhādakaṃ aratḥasaṃvinayikaṃ sarvajātāparihārikaṃ*. The translation is less certain than the reading. Regarding *apāvesaṃ*, in Sanskrit *apṛavēśyaṃ*, it is sufficient to refer to Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 98, note. *Anomasa* represents *anavamṛśyaṃ*; its certain equivalent in later terminology, namely, *samastarājakīyānāṃ ahastaprakṣhepanīyaṃ* (*ibid.*, p. 171, note) seems to imply that the royal officers were prohibited from taking possession of anything belonging to the village. For *alonakhādaka* the later inscriptions offer several equivalents—*alavanakreni-khanaka* which Bühler (p. 101) has already quoted (Dr. Fleet's No. 55, l. 28, and No. 56), *alonagulachchikobha* in line 32 of the plates of Śivaskandavarman (Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 6) and *salohalavanākara* in line 17 of the plates of Govindachandra (*ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 101). These words are far from clear; but if we remember the fact that the production of salt is a royal monopoly (Bühler in Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 2, note) and the details quoted by Bhagwanlal (Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. XVI, p. 556, p. 179) regarding the manner of digging the soil for salt which prevailed in the very region of our inscriptions, it seems to me that the explanation proposed by Bhagwanlal, viz., *alavanakhātaka* with the Prakrit softening of *t* into *d* is quite satisfactory. The object of this immunity would thus be to deny to the representatives of the king the right of digging pits for extracting salt.

"The next term seems to be written in our inscriptions *aratḥasaṃvinayika* or **savinavika*, but line 12 of the grant of Śivaskandavarman (Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 6) distinctly reads *aratḥasaṃvinayikaṃ*. In stating that this spelling excluded his earlier explanation, Bühler did not suggest another instead of it. I do not know any parallel expression which clears up this one finally. The word seems to represent *arāshṭrasaṃvinayika*; but etymology alone is an unsafe guide in the interpretation of technical terms. *Vineti* is only used in a moral sense. Could we think of translating: 'exempted from the police, the magistrate of the district (*rāshṭra*; compare Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 32, note), or of the *rāshṭrin*?' This would remind us of those grants in which, on the other hand, it is stated that the right of punishing thefts and offences is reserved by the king, or of those in which the right to punish the 'ten offences' (*sadaśāparādha*; see, e.g., the Alina plates, l. 67 in Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 179, and the Deo-Baranark inscription, l. 17, *ibid.*, p. 217) is transferred to the donee. At least I have nothing more plausible to suggest. It is well known that the different formulas of immunities were variable and always incomplete. And it is not to be wondered at that they should be summed up in a comprehensive and general expression like *sarvajātāparihārika*. Elsewhere the texts are more precise in stating that there are eighteen kinds of immunities. It will be enough to quote the inscriptions of the Pallavas, and notably that of Śivaskandavarman, which reads *aṭṭhārasa-jātāparihāra* (Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 6)."

The Mattepad grant was issued from the victorious city of Kandarapura, which was possibly the capital of the kings of the Ānanda line. The recipients of the grant were the following: Ruddajja (Rudrārya), Nandijja (Nandyārya), Khandajja (Skandārya), Bhavajja (Bhavārya), Agnijja (Agnīyārya), Sirijja (Śyārya), Savarajja (Śabarārya) and Vīrajja (Vīrārya) of the Koṇḍinna (Kaṇḍinya)-gotra, Dāmajja (Dāmārya), Kumarajja (Kumārārya), Veṇujja (Viṣṇvārya), Devajja (Devārya), Nandijja and Dīnajja (Dīnārya) of the Kassava (Kāśyapa)-gotra and Bhaddajja (Bhadrārya) of the Āgasti-gotra.

The seal of Dāmodaravarman attached to the Mattepad plates is oval and is said to be much worn. It bears in relief, according to Hultzsch, the figure of a "seated bull," facing the proper right.

We do not know who succeeded Dāmodaravarman on the throne of Kandarapura. The end of the Ānanda dynasty is wrapped up in obscurity. They were possibly subdued or supplanted by the Śālaṅkāyanas in the 5th century A.D.

CHAPTER IV

THE ŚĀLAṆKĀYANAS.

1. *Genealogy of the Śālaṅkāyanas.*¹

While editing the Kolleru (Kollair) grant of the Śālaṅkāyana Mahārāja Nandivarman, son of Caṇḍavarman, in Ind. Ant., Vol. V, pp. 175 ff. (Sanskrit and Old-Canarese Inscriptions : No. XVIII) Dr. Fleet remarked : “ In Sir W. Elliot’s facsimiles I have another copper-plate inscription of Vijayanandivarmā and his Yuvamahārāja, whose name seems to be Vijayatuṅgavarmā or Vijayabuddhavarmā.” He appended the following note to the name of the Yuvamahārāja : “ The original has, 1. 3, ‘ Vijaya-buṅgavārmassa,’ and in the margin, a little above the line, there is the character ‘ddha’—differing not much from ‘ṅga’ as there written—apparently intended to be introduced somewhere in the line as a correction.” Now, as we shall presently see, this statement regarding the inscription is really wrong and was subsequently corrected by Dr. Fleet himself. But, unfortunately, the blunder has become parmanent in later writings on the Śālaṅkāyana genealogy.

En passant, I may draw the attention of readers to the names of these kings generally accepted and used by scholars. The names can hardly be Vijayanandivarman, Vijayabuddhavarman and the like.

The Śālaṅkāyana inscriptions are stated to be issued from Siri-vijaya-veṅgīpura, Vijaya-veṅgīpura or Vijya-veṅgī. The Kadamba grants are generally issued from Śrī-vijaya-vaijayanti,

¹ My paper on the Śālaṅkāyana genealogy was originally published in Ind. Hist. Quart., IX, pp. 208ff.

Śrī-vijaya-triparvata and Śrī-vijaya-palāśikā.¹ The Mattepad plates of Dāmodaravarman (Ep. Ind., XVII. 327 ff.) were issued from Vijaya-kandarapura. We have also references to Śrī-vijaya-kāñcīpura, Śrī-vijaya-palakkada and Śrī-vijaya-daśanapura in some of the Pallava inscriptions (Ep. Ind., III, 142 ff., and I.297; Ind. Ant., V. 56ff, 154 ff.). There can be no doubt that the names of the places are Vēṅgīpura, Kāñcīpura, Vaijayantī, Palāśikā, etc., and that *vijaya* or *śrī-vijaya* has been prefixed to them simply for the sake of glorification. I have no doubt that the name of the Śālaṅkāyana Mahārāja of the Kollair grant is similarly Nandivarman, and not *Śrī-vijaya-* or *Vijaya-nandivarman*, as is generally taken to be. *Vijaya* and *Śrī-vijaya*, in such cases, mean *Vijaya-yukta* and *Śrī-vijaya-yukta* respectively. When prefixed to proper names, they form examples of the *Tatpuruṣa* compound of the *Śākapārthivādi* class. The word *jaya* is also used in this way. As for instance, Karmānta (modern [Baḍ]-Kāntā near Comilla) has been mentioned as *jaya-Karmānta-vāsaka* in the Ashrafpur plate of Devakhaḍga (Bhandarkar's List, No. 1588). It must, also, be noticed that in the Peddavegi and the Kanteru (No. 2) grants the reigning Śālaṅkāyana king is simply called Nandivarman. Note also that the Pallava king Skandavarman II in his own Omgodu (No. 1) grant (Ep. Ind., XV. 246) calls himself Śrī-vijaya-Skandavarman, while in the Uruvupalli grant of his son Viṣṇugopavarman (Ind. Ant., V. 50) and in the Omgodu (No. 2), Pikira (*ibid.*, XV. 246; VIII. 159) and the Mangalur (Ind. Ant., V. 154) grants of his grandson Simhavarman he is simply called Skandavarman.

To come to our point. The first scholar, who accepted the wrong information of Dr. Fleet and added thereto something of his own, seems to be Prof. Dubreuil, the author of *Ancient History of the Deccan* (Eng. tran., 1920). Before he wrote, a Prakrit copper-plate inscription of another Śālaṅkāyana Mahārāja, Devavarman, was discovered

¹ See the Kadamba grants edited by Fleet in Ind. Ant., VI and VII.

near Ellore. It was edited by Dr. Hultzsch in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, 56 ff. In the *Ancient History of the Deccan*, Prof. Dubreuil, therefore, speaks of four Śālaṅkāyana monarchs, *viz.*,

1. Devavarman of the Ellore plates.
2. Caṇḍavarman, and his son
3. Nandivarman of the Kollair plates.

4. Buddhavarman, son of (3) Nandivarman mentioned in the facsimile referred to by Fleet. As regards Buddhavarman, Dubreuil has quoted the passage of Dr. Fleet, and remarked : “ This name is probably Buddhavarmā, for in the margin, there is the character ‘dha’ ” (*Anc. Hist. Dec.*, Eng. tr., p. 89). Evidently the Professor goes a step further. I do not know from which authority he learnt that the letter in the margin is “dha” and not ‘ddha,’ as is attested by Fleet.

The mistake was next repeated by Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao who edited the two copper-plate grants discovered at Kanteru, one belonging to the Śālaṅkāyana Mahārāja Nandivarman and the other to the Śālaṅkāyana Mahārāja Skandavarman.¹

Like Prof. Dubreuil, Lakshmana Rao has quoted the same passage of Fleet and has taken “Vijaya Buddhavarman” as a king belonging to the Śālaṅkāyana dynasty (*Jour. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, Vol. V, p. 26). It is to be noted that Fleet hesitatingly proposed an alternative of two names, *viz.*, Tuṅgavarman and Buddhavarman; then Dubreuil showed favour for the name Buddhavarman; and now Lakshmana Rao takes Buddhavarman as an established name in the genealogy of the Śālaṅkāyanas.

Next we come to Mr. R. Subba Rao, who has edited the Peddavegi copper-plates of the Śālaṅkāyana Mahārāja Nandivarman II (*ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 92 ff.). He refers to five inscriptions belonging to the Śālaṅkāyana kings.

¹ *Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, V. 26ff.; the plates appear to be originally edited by the same scholar in *Journ. Andhra Academy* or the *Andhra Sahitya-Parishat-Patrika*, Vol. XI, 113ff.

“Of these a Prakrit inscription which was discovered by Mr. Elliot remains unpublished ; but two kings (?) mentioned in it are known to us as Vijayanandivarman Yuvamahārāja (!) and Vijayabuddhavarman. The late Mr. Lakshmana Rao edited in Andhra Sahitya Parishat Patrika, Vol. XI, two Śālaṅkāyana inscriptions discovered in Kanteru near Guntur and these belong to Nandivarman and Skandavarman. Another Śālaṅkāyana inscription discovered in Kollair lake and which belongs to Vijaya Nandivarman, eldest son of Chaṇḍavarman, was published in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. V, by Mr. Elliot (? Fleet). A Prakrit inscription discovered at Ellore which belongs to Vijaya Devavarman was published in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IX ” (*ibid.*, p. 93). By this time, everything is complete.

I am afraid, these scholars have not carefully read all the inscriptions edited by Dr. Fleet in his well-known “ Sanskrit and Old-Canarese Inscriptions ” series. It is, however, wrong to say that “a Prakrit inscription which was discovered by Mr. Elliot remains unpublished.” It was actually published by Dr. Fleet in *Ind. Ant.*, IX, pp. 100 ff. (*Sans. Old-Can. Ins.*, No. LXXIV). “ This is the grant of Vijayabuddhavarmā,” he says there, “of which I have spoken at Vol. V, p. 175. I now give the text from the original plates which belong to Sir Walter Elliot.”

Fleet’s reading of the first plate of the grant is as follows :

L. 1. Siddha Sirivijayakhandavamma-mahārājassa Samvachhara.....

L. 2. Yuvamahārājassa Bhārattāyana Pallavā-

L. 3. ṇaṃ Sirivijayabuddhavarmassa dēvī.....

L. 4. kujana vīhā(?)rudēvī Kadā(?)vīya.....

No argument is necessary to prove that the inscription belongs to the Pallavas and refers to the king Skandavarman and the Crown-prince Buddhavarman, and that it has nothing to do with the Śālaṅkāyanas. Dr. Fleet was himself conscious of what he said before, and remarked (*ibid.*, p. 101): “And

Vijayabuddhavarman is said to be a Pallava, and of the Bhārattāyana *gotra*. There is therefore, no genealogical connection between the Vijayabuddhavarman of this grant and the Vijayanandivarman of the Veṅgi grant at Vol. V, p. 175, who was of the Śālaṅkāyana *gotra*." Dr. Fleet, however, could not translate the inscription, as it is written in Prakrit. It has now been carefully edited by Dr. Hultsch in Ep. Ind., VIII (pp. 143 ff., "British Museum Plates of Chārudēvi" with "Plates of Vijaya-Skandavarman and Vijaya-Buddhavarman"). The first plate has been thus deciphered and translated by Hultsch :

Siddha//

- L. 1. Siri-Vijaya-Khandava[m]ma-mahārājassa samv-
vachchhar[ā].....[/*]
L. 2. Yuvamahārājassa Bhāraddāyassa Pallavā-
L. 3. ṇaṃ Si[ri]vijaya-Buddhavarmanassa dēvi [Bu]ddhi...
L. 4. kura-janavī Chārudēvi ka[ḍake]vīya.....[/*]

"Success! The years (*of the reign*) of the glorious Mahārāja Vijaya-Skandavarman. Chārudēvi, the queen of the *Yuva-mahārāja*, the Bhāradvāja, the glorious Vijaya-Buddhavarman (*of the family*) of the Pallavas, (*and*) mother of [Buddhyaṇ]-kura, (*addresses the following order*) [to the official at] Ka[ṭaka]."

There can, then, be no question of a Buddhavarman in the genealogy of the Śālaṅkāyanas.

The following kings are so far known from inscriptions to have belonged to the Śālaṅkāyana dynasty :—

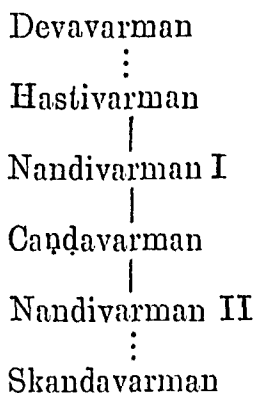
1. Ellore Prakrit grant (i) Devavarman.
2. Kollair grant (i) Caṇḍavarman,
 (ii) Nandivarman, eldest son of
 Caṇḍavarman.
3. Kanteru grant (No. 1) (i) Skandavarman.
4. Kanteru grant (No. 2) (i) Nandivarman.

5. Peddavegi grant
- (i) Hastivarman,
 - (ii) Nandivarman I, son of Hastivarman,
 - (iii) Caṇḍavarman, son of Nandivarman I,
 - (iv) Nandivarman II, eldest son of Caṇḍavarman.

There can be no doubt that Nandivarman of the Kollair grant is identical with Nandivarman II of the Peddavegi grant, since both of them are described in the inscriptions as "the eldest son of Caṇḍavarman." It is however not quite clear whether Nandivarman of the Kanteru grant (No. 2) is identical with either of the two Nandivarmans of the Peddavegi plates or he is a third king different from them. Nevertheless, it seems reasonable to identify him with Nandivarman II of the Peddavegi grant. Both in the Kollair and the Peddavegi grants Nandivarman II is called *bhagavac-citrarathasvāmi-pād-ānudhyāto bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-pāda-bhaktah parama-bhāgavataś=śālaṅkāyana*. It is interesting to note that exactly the same epithets have been applied to Nandivarman also in the plates discovered at Kanteru. It must moreover be noted that the king has the epithet *parama-bhāgavata* in all these three inscriptions and that no other Śālaṅkāyana king is as yet known to have used this epithet. It appears, then, almost certain that Nandivarman of the Kanteru plates is also, like the king of the same name of the Kollair grant, identical with Nandivarman II of the Peddavegi plates. There is unfortunately nothing from which we can determine the precise relationship that existed between Devavarman and Skandavarman on the one hand and the line of the remaining four kings on the other.

As the Ellore grant is written in Prakrit, there can hardly be any doubt that king Devavarman ruled before Skandavarman and Nandivarman II who use Sanskrit in their inscriptions. The characters of the Peddavegi plates of Nandivarman II

appear to be slightly more developed than that used in the Ellore plates of Devavarman. Devavarman, therefore, should be placed before Hastivarman, who appears to have been succeeded regularly by his son, grandson and great-grandson. Considering the facts that the inscriptions of Nandivarman II are to be palæographically assigned to about the middle of the 5th century A.D., and that he was preceded by three kings of his line, it seems probable that Skandavarman of the Kanteru grant came after Nandivarman II.¹ We however do not know whether Devavarman was the immediate predecessor of Hastivarman or Skandavarman the immediate successor of Nandivarman II. The genealogical tree then stands thus :



It may be noticed here that this Śālaṅkāyana Hastivarman of the Peddavegi plates can hardly be any other than the *Vaiṅgeyaka-Hastivarman*, mentioned in the famous Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta.² The main arguments in favour of this assertion are the following :

(i) The Śālaṅkāyana line is the only dynasty which can be properly called *Vaiṅgeyaka* (belonging to Veṅgī), as all the

¹ Some scholars have suggested that Skandavarman might have been the younger brother of Nandivarman II (J.A.H.R.S., V, p. 27). The conspicuous mention in Nandivarman II's inscription of his being the eldest son of Mahārāja Caṇḍavarman may suggest that the king had a rival in one of his younger brothers. We however do not as yet definitely know whether this younger brother could be Skandavarman of the Kanteru grant No. 1.

² Corp. Inscr. Indic., Vol. III, No. 1; see also Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc., I. 93. Even recent works on Indian History regard *Vaiṅgeyaka* Hastivarman of the Allahabad

grants of the Śālaṅkāyana kings are issued from Veṅgīpura. No other early dynasty is known to have its headquarters at the city of Veṅgī.¹

(ii) The Śālaṅkāyanas ruled according to Dubreuil, "between 350 and 450 A.D." (*op. cit.*, p. 87) ; and Burnell thought that the Kollair grant of Nandivarman may be palæographically assigned to the 4th century A.D. (South Ind. Palæography, p. 14 and n. 2). It is therefore generally accepted that the Śālaṅkāyanas ruled contemporaneously with the early Guptas (320-467 A.D.).

As regards the date proposed by Dubreuil, it may be said that the Śālaṅkāyanas certainly began to rule long before 350 A.D. Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri (Polit. Hist. Anc. Ind., 3rd ed., p. 341, n. 1) has rightly identified the Śālaṅkāyanas with the

pillar inscription as a Pallava king or a Pallava viceroy of the king of Kāścī. See, as for instance, Sewell's Hist. Ins. South. Ind. (1932), p. 375.

¹ It may be noted that a Sanskrit grant belonging to the Pallava Dharma-Mahārāja Siṃhavarman (Ind. Ant., V. 154) refers to Veṅgorāṣṭra. Siṃhavarman is there said to have granted a village in the Veṅgorāṣṭra. The grant was issued from Daśanapura, which has been identified by Venkayya with modern Darsi in the Nellore District (Ind. Ant., 1908, p. 283). "None of these places Tāmbbrāpa, Palakkaḍa, Daśanapura or Menmātūra (* from where some Sanskrit charters of the Pallavas were issued) has been identified definitely, although a suggestion has been made by the late Mr. Venkayya that they are to be looked for in the vicinity of the region comprised by the modern Nellore District" (R. Gopalan, Pallavas of Kanchi, p. 55). Prof. Dubreuil also places the Daśanapura region in the Nellore and the Guntur Districts (Anc. Hist. Dec., p. 69). The Veṅgī country, we know, lay "between the Krishna and the Godavari." If this Veṅgorāṣṭra refers to the country of Veṅgī, it may be assumed that, at the time of Siṃhavarman Pallava, the southern fringe of this country was under the possession of the Pallavas. There is however as yet no evidence to prove that the capital city of Veṅgī was ever occupied by the Pallavas. We must also note that even the grandfather of this Siṃhavarman used Sanskrit in his inscription (*Cf.* Omgodu plates of Skandavarman II, Ep. Ind., XV, p. 246 ff.). It is generally accepted that Sanskrit was introduced in Southern inscriptions in about the 4th cent. A.D. Siṃhavarman, therefore, came some time after the reign of Samudragupta.

It may however be conjectured that with the extension of the Veṅgī kingdom under the Śālaṅkāyanas, the name *Veṅgī* also extended over the Andhradeśa, as far south as the Karimārāṣṭra (northern part of Nellore and southern part of Guntur). Veṅgorāṣṭra in the possession of the Pallavas is, then, to be conjectured to have been originally the southernmost part of the Śālaṅkāyana kingdom. There is however no evidence to prove that the Pallavas were in possession of the city of Veṅgī.

Salakênoi mentioned in the Geography of Ptolemy (about 140 A.D.). Ptolemy says : " Beyond the Maisôloi (*cf.* Masulipattan) are the Salakênoi near the Arouaia mountains, with the following cities. Bê nagouron $140^{\circ} 24'$, Kastrâ $138^{\circ} 19'30''$; Magaris $137^{\circ}30' 18^{\circ}20'$ (Geography, VII. i, § 79). Bê nagouron, the premier city of the Salakênoi, appears to me to be a mistake for Bengaouron (Bengapura) which is no other than the well-known Veṅgīpura (*Cf.* *Veṅgorāṣṭra* of the Mangalur grant).

As regards the conjecture of Dr. Burnell, I may simply say that, if we compare the characters of the Kollair plates (Ind. Ant., V. 175. Pls.) with those of the inscriptions of the early Eastern Cālukyas,¹ and of the Viṣṇukunḍins,² it becomes impossible for us to accept such an early date for the Kollair grant. I have no hesitation in asserting that palæography has nothing to say against the ascription of the inscriptions of Nandivarman II to the middle of the 5th cent. A. D. It is then quite possible that his great-grandfather Hastivarman ruled about a century earlier and was a contemporary of Samudragupta (about 330 to 375 A.D. according to Smith).

(iii) Lastly, excepting this Śālaṅkāyana Hastivarman, we do not know of any other king, who ruled at Veṅgī, whose name was Hastivarman and who can any how be placed in the middle of the 4th century A.D., which is the time of Samudragupta.

Accepting the contemporaneity of Samudragupta and Śālaṅkāyana Hastivarman, we may draw the following approximate chronological chart of the Śālaṅkāyana Mahārājas.

Devavarman.....c.	335	A.D. ?
⋮		
Hastivarman.....c.	360	A.D.
Nandivarman I.....c.	385	A.D.

¹ See, e.g., the Polamuru plates of Jayasimha I (Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc., IV. 72, Pls.); and the Satara plates of Viṣṇuvardhana I (Ind. Ant., XIX. 310-11).

² See, e.g., the Polamuru plates of Mādhavavarman (I), who cannot be too much earlier than Jayasimha I (Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc., VI. 17, Pls.)

Caṇḍavarman	c. 410 A.D.
Nandivarman II.....	c. 435 A.D.
Skandavarman.....	c. 460 A.D. ?

2. *Who was Caṇḍavarman of the Komarti Plates?*

In his recent work, *Hist. Ins. South. Ind.* (1932), p. 18, s v. A.D. 340, the late Mr. Sewell has thus remarked on the Komarti grant: "About the fourth century A. D. A set of plates from Komarti in Ganjam, dated in the sixth regnal year of the Śālaṅkāyana chief Caṇḍavarman." Mr. K. P. Jayaswal in his recently published work, *History of India* (1933) even goes so far as to suggest that the Śālaṅkāyanas ruled not only in Kalinga but originally also in Magadha (p. 127). Sewell and Jayaswal here evidently follow the views of Prof. Hultzsch who, while editing the Komarti plates in *Ep. Ind.*, IV. 142 ff., was inclined to identify king Caṇḍavarman mentioned in this inscription with the Śālaṅkāyana Mahārāja Caṇḍavarman, father of Nandivarman II. Prof. Kielhorn, who entered the Kolleru inscription of Nandivarman II Śālaṅkāyana in his *List of North Indian Inscriptions* (*Ep. Ind.*, V, App., No. 686) was obviously of the same opinion.¹ Prof. Dubreuil remains silent about the suggestion of Hultzsch, when he discusses the Komarti grant (*Anc. Hist. Dec.*, p. 94), though he has not taken up the suggestion of Hultzsch. We may not accept the identification, but such great authorities in South Indian Epigraphy as Hultzsch and Kielhorn cannot be passed over in silence. Moreover, a discussion on this point has now become indispensable after some scholars have accepted the old suggestion made by Hultzsch and supported by Kielhorn.

Regarding the Komarti plates, Hultzsch says that "a connection may be established with the plates (*i.e.*, the Kollair plates) of the Śālaṅkāyana Mahārāja Vijayanandivarman, who

¹ Following Kielhorn, Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar has also entered the Śālaṅkāyana inscriptions in his *List of North Indian Inscriptions* (*Ep. Ind.*, XX-XXI. App., Nos. 2087-91).

(1) like Chaṇḍavarman, professes to have been devoted to the feet of the lord, (his) father (*bappabhaṭṭāraka-pāda-bhakta*), and who (2) was the eldest son of *Mahārāja* Chaṇḍavarman. The close resemblance between the alphabets of the plates of Vijayanandivarman and of the Komarti plates suggests that Chaṇḍavarman, the father of Vijayanandivarman, may have been identical with the *Mahārāja* Chaṇḍavarman who issued the Komarti plates."

I agree with Hultzsch that the characters of the Komarti plates resemble closely those of the plates of Nandivarman II Śālaṅkāyana, and that, therefore, "the two Chaṇḍavarman must have belonged to the same period." But it is difficult to go beyond that. There are some serious points against the identification of the issuer of the Komarti plates with the Śālaṅkāyana Mahārāja Chaṇḍavarman.

The Komarti plates were found near Narasannapeta in the Ganjam District. The grant was issued from Vijaya-Simhapura, which has been identified with modern Singupuram between Chicacole and Narasannapeta.¹ On the other hand, all the known Śālaṅkāyana grants were issued from Veṅḡpura, which has been identified with Peddavegi near Ellore in the West Godavari District and which appears to have been the chief city of the Śālaṅkāyanas as early as the time of Ptolemy.

It must be noted that Caṇḍavarman of the Komarti grant calls himself *Kaliṅgādhipati* (lord of Kaliṅga); but no Śālaṅkāyana Mahārāja so far known claims mastery over the Kaliṅga country. The issuers of all the Śālaṅkāyana grants invariably call themselves *Śālaṅkāyana* and also *Bhagavac-citrarathasvāmī-pād-ānu-dhyāta*, i.e., meditating on the feet of lord Citrarathasvāmī who must have been the family deity of the Śālaṅkāyanas.

¹ The name of Simhapura, the capital of the dynasty to which Caṇḍavarman belonged, and the names ending in *-varman* appear to support a conjecture that these Varmans of Kaliṅga originally came from the Simhapurāṇya (Yuan Chwang's "kingdom of *Sang-ho-pu-lo*; Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, I, pp. 143-7) in the Punjab. The Lakkhamandal inscription of about the "end of the 7th century" refers to twelve princes of Simhapura, whose names end in *-varman* (Ep. Ind., I, pp. 12 ff.)

It must also be noticed that both these distinctive epithets are conspicuous by their absence in the Komarti grant.

Besides, the phraseology of the Komarti grant seems to be different from that of the known Sālaṅkāyana inscriptions. Two points at least deserve notice in this connection. First, the king of the Komarti grant calls himself *Śrī-mahārājā(ja)-Caṇḍavarmā*, while all the issuers of the Sālaṅkāyana grants invariably call themselves *Mahārāja-śrī-so-&-so*. Secondly, the phrase *āsahasrāmśu-śaśi-tarakā-pratiṣṭha* used as an adjective of *agrahāra*, and the idea conveyed by it, are unknown to the phraseology of the known Sālaṅkāyana inscriptions which, we should note, are marked by a remarkable similarity of language among themselves.

Such being the case, we must take the issuer of the Komarti plates as belonging to a separate dynasty, until further evidence is forthcoming.¹ It seems probable that the dynasty² to which Caṇḍavarman of the Komarti grant belongs ruled over the Kaliṅga country (or the major part of it) with its capital at Siṃhapura, when the Sālaṅkāyanas ruled over the country to the west of Kaliṅga with their capital at Veṅgīpura. The country of the Sālaṅkāyanas was the heart of what is called the Andhradeśa in Sanskrit literature. In the inscriptions of the Eastern Cālukyas, it has been designated Veṅgīmaṇḍala, Veṅgīrāṣṭra, Veṅgīmahī and the like. Probably the country was called "the Veṅgī kingdom" even in the Sālaṅkāyana period.

Another king of the dynasty of Siṃhapura seems to have been the issuer of the Brihatproṣṭha grant (issued from vijaya-Sihapura, i.e., Siṃhapura), edited by Hultzsch in Ep. Ind., XII,

¹ Prof. Dubreuil has rightly separated the two dynasties in his *Anc. Hist. Déc.*, pp. 89 & 95.

² See foot-note at p. 64. The dynasty may be styled as "the Varman dynasty of Kaliṅga."

4 ff. The name of the king who issued this grant has been taken to be Umavarman. According to Hultzsch, "both the alphabet and the phraseology of the grant closely resemble those of the Komarti plates of Mahārāja Chaṇḍavarman. This king may have belonged to the same family as the Mahārāj-omavarman. For both kings issued their edict from Siṃhapura (or Sīhapura) and bore the epithets 'lord of Kaliṅga' and 'devoted to the feet of (his) father.' " ¹

The characters of the Komarti grant closely resemble those of another inscription, the Chicacole grant of Nanda Prabhañjanavarman.² The two phraseological peculiarities of the Komarti grant noticed above are present in the Chicacole grant. We may therefore agree with Hultzsch when he says, "The phraseology of the grant resembles that of the copperplate grants of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga, but still much more closely with that of the Chicacole plates of Nandaprabhañjanavarman. Another point in which the last mentioned plates agree with the Komarti plates is that in both of them the title *Kāliṅgādhipati*, i.e., 'lord (of the country) of Kaliṅga' is applied to the reigning prince. There remains a third point which proves that Chaṇḍavarman and Nandaprabhañjanavarman must have belonged to the same dynasty. An examination of the original seal of the Chicacole plates, which Mr. Thurston, Superintendent of the Madras Museum, kindly sent me at my request, revealed the fact that

¹ Ep. Ind., XII, p. 4. Hultzsch is not quite accurate in the last point. Chaṇḍavarman is called *Bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-pādabhakta*, while Umavarman is called *Bappa-pādabhakta* in the inscription. An inscription discovered at Tekkali seems to have been issued by this king Umavarman. It has been noticed in Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc., VI, pp. 53 f.

² Ind. Ant., XIII, 48 f. The name so long taken by scholars as Nandaprabhañjanavarman probably signifies Prabhañjanavarman of the Nanda family. For a reference to the Nanda or Nandodbhava dynasty in the Kaliṅga region see the Talmul plates of the Nanda chief Dhruvānanda of the year 293, which, if referred to the Harṣa era, corresponds to A.D. 899 (J.B.O.R.S., XIV, pp. 90 ff.; No. 2043 of Bhandarkar's List of North Indian Inscriptions, Ep. Ind., XX-XXI, Appendix). These Nandas or Nandodbhavas appear to have claimed descent from the mighty Nandas who ruled at Pāṭaliputra before the Mauryas. It may be interesting in this connection to note that a certain Nandarāja is referred to in the famous Hathigumpha inscription of Khāravela, king of Kaliṅga (Ep. Ind., XX, pp. 79f., lines 6 & 12).

the legend on the seal is *Pi[tri-bhakta]*, just as on the seal of the Komarti plates.”¹ The Chicacole grant was, however, not issued from Simhapura or Sīhapura, but from vijaya-Sārapallikā-vāsaka, “the residence or palace (or camp ?) at the victorious Sārapallikā.” It is not clear whether Sārapallikā was the capital of the Kaliṅgādhipati Nanda Prabhañjanavarman, but the explicit mention of the term *vāsaka* (residence, dwelling) probably suggests that it was not the permanent capital of his family.²

On plaecographic grounds, these kings should be assigned to about the time of Nandivarman II Śālaṅkāyana, i.e., about the 5th century A.D.³ It is, therefore, impossible to agree with the late Prof. R. D. Banerji when he writes,⁴ “We do not know anything of the history of Kaliṅga and Orissa after the fall of the dynasty of Khāravela (2nd century B.C. according to the Professor) till the rise of the Śailodbhavas in the 7th century A.D.”

It is difficult to determine whether this line of the kings of Kaliṅga was ruling at the time of the southern expedition of Samudragupta (c. 350 A.D.). It is, however, interesting to note that the Allahabad pillar inscription does not refer to any king of Kaliṅga, nor of Simhapura and Sārapallikā. The states mentioned there, that may be conjecturally assigned to the Kaliṅga region, are Kurāla, Koṭṭura, Piṣṭapura, Eraṇḍapalla, Avamukta and Devarāṣṭra. Of these Piṣṭapura has been definitely identified with Piṭhāpuram in the Godavari District. That it was the seat of a Government in the beginning of the 7th century A.D., is proved by the passage *piṣṭam piṣṭapuram yena* in the Aihole inscription of Pulakeśin II.⁵ It is interesting

¹ Ep. Ind., IV, 143.

² The term *vāsaka* and the similar term *skandhāvāra* appear to mean “the temporary residence (therefore, the temporary capital) of a king.” See above, p. 37.

³ Prof. Dubreuil places them a little later, *loc. cit.*

⁴ History of Orissa, I, Ch. VIII (Kaliṅga and Orissa in the Scythian and Gupta periods), p. 109.

⁵ Ep. Ind., VI, 4 ff.

that we have got an inscription of a *Kaliṅgādhipatirm* = *māga-dha-kul-ālaṅkariṣṇuro* = *vāsiṣṭhīputro mahārāja-śrī-śaktivarmanmā*, who granted the village of Rākaluva in the Kaliṅga-*viṣaya* (Ep. Ind., XII, pp. 1 ff.). Rākaluva has been identified with Rāgolū, the findspot of the copper-plates, near Chicacole in the Ganjam District. The characters of the inscription seem to resemble those of the Veṅgī and the Siṃhapura inscriptions, and may, therefore, be assigned to about the 5th century A.D. But the phraseology is remarkably different from that of the inscriptions of the Siṃhapura line. It may be conjectured therefore that Śaktivarman belonged to a separate dynasty, that of Piṣṭapura, which was probably supplanted by the Cālukyas in the beginning of the 7th century A.D.

It is interesting that Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śaktivarman is said to have been born of a Māgadha family.¹ Māgadha is a mixed caste sprung from Vaiśya father and Kṣatriya mother, the duty of the members of which caste is that of professional bards (Manu, X, 11 & 17; Yajñavalkya, I, 94). The epithet *kaliṅgādhipati* seems to suggest that the claim of *kaliṅgādhipatitva* of one of the two lines of Piṣṭapura and Siṃhapura was, at one time, challenged by the other.²

The names of the other states mentioned above cannot be satisfactorily identified. It does not appear quite unreasonable to think that after the downfall of the Cēṭa dynasty to which the great Khāravela belonged, Kaliṅga became split up into a number of petty principalities and that the state continued as late as the time of Samudragupta's invasion. The history of Kaliṅga in about the 5th century A.D., was possibly marked by the rivalry between the royal houses of Piṣṭapura and Siṃhapura for the supreme authority over Kaliṅga. The line of Siṃhapura

¹ *Māgadha-kula* here seems to have nothing to do with Magadha.

² Besides these "lords of Kaliṅga" there is reference in the Sarabhavaram plates (Ep. Ind., XIII, p. 304), to an unnamed "lord of Cikura." This "lord of Cikura," according to Prof. Dubreuil, was "probably not a king of Kaliṅga, but only a simple feudatory" (Anc. Hist. Dec., p. 94).

was possibly overthrown by the Gaṅgas in about the beginning of the 6th century A.D.¹

In conclusion let me refer summarily to the grants of the kings of Sarabhapura (Bhandarkar's *List*, Nos. 1878-1881). These grants are assigned to the 8th century A.D., but may be a little earlier. The above four inscriptions, all issued from Sarabhapura, have been found in C. P. ; but, according to Sten Konow (*Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 108), Sarabhapura may probably be identical with the modern village of Sarabhavaram, in the Chodavaram Division, ten miles east from the bank of the Godavari and twenty miles from Rājahmundry. L. P. Pandeya has described (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, IX, p. 595) a coin belonging to the Sarabhapura kings whom he takes to be feudatories of the Pāṇḍava kings of Kośala. If the identification of Sten Konow is correct, we have another royal family in the Kaliṅga country, the earlier members of which family may have ruled about the end of the 6th century.

3. The term "*Sālaṅkāyana*" and the Religion of the *Sālaṅkāyanas*.

The word *sālaṅkāyana*, according to the Sanskrit Lexicons Trikaṇḍaśeṣa and Medinī, means *Nandin*, the famous attendant or *vāhana* of Śiva. It is interesting to note that the figure of a

¹ Curiously enough we find a line of kings, with names ending in-varman ruling over parts of Eastern and Southern Bengal in about the tenth and eleventh centuries A.D. The ancestors of these "Varmans"—as they style themselves in their inscriptions—are said to have once occupied Siphapura. Cf. *rarmmāno* = 'tigabhiraṇāma dadhataḥ ślāghyaḥ bhujau bibhrato bhejuḥ siphapuram guhām = iva mṛgendrānām harer = bāndharāḥ, Belava grant of Bhojavarmān (*Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 37), son of Sūmalavarman, grandson of Jātavarman and great-grandson of Vajravarman. The Bengal Varmans, like the Varmans of the Lakkhamandal inscription, trace their descent from Yadu. Evidently they claim connection with the Yādavas (Cf. *harer* = bāndharāḥ in the passage quoted above). It is possible that a second branch of the Punjab Varmans migrated into Bengal. It may also be conjectured that the Varmans of Kaliṅga when they were displaced from Siphapura (by the Eastern Gaṅgas ?), marched towards the east and carved out a principality somewhere in South or South-east Bengal. They appear to have supplanted the Candra dynasty of Eastern Bengal possibly after it was shaken by the defeat of "Govindacandra of Vamgūladeśa" inflicted by that Indian Napoleon, Gaṅgaikonda Rājendra Cola I, in about 1023 A.D.

bull (*i.e.*, Nandin) is found on the seals of the Śālaṅkāyana kings, whose copper-plate grants have so far been discovered (*vide infra*). It is therefore not quite impossible that the Bull banner of the Śālaṅkāyana kings was connected with the name of their family.

Fleet, while editing the Kollair plates, suggested that the term Śālaṅkāyana means the Śālaṅkāyana-gotra. Though the Śālaṅkāyana kings are never called Śālaṅkāyana-sagotra according to the way in which *gotras* are referred to in early South Indian inscriptions, the theory of Fleet cannot be dismissed as impossible. There are, however, more than one *gotra* of the name of Śālaṅkāyana, and it is not possible to find out to which one of these *gotras* our kings belonged. There is one *gotra* called Śālaṅkāyana, which belongs to the Viśvāmitra section and has the *pravaras* Vaiśvāmitra, Kātya and Ātkīla. But the word *Śālaṅkāyana* used in the Ellore grant of Devavarman seems to be the Prakrit form of Śālaṅkāyana, which is the spelling used in all the other grants of the family. There are however four *gotrarṣis* named Śālaṅkāyana. The first of them belongs to the Bhṛgu section and has the *pravaras* Bhārgava, Vaitahavya and Sāvedasa. The second belongs to the Bharadvāja section and has the *pravaras* Āṅgīrasa, Bārhaspatya, Bhāradvāja, Sainya and Gārgya. The third belongs to the Viśvāmitra section and has the *pravaras* Vaiśvāmitra, Daivarāta and Audala;—the fourth also belongs to the Viśvāmitra section, but has the *pravaras* Vaiśvāmitra, Śālaṅkāyana and Kauśika (See P. C. Rao, *Gotranivandha-kadambam*, Mysore).

We know very little of the early history of the Śālaṅkāyanas. It has been noticed (*Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, V. 23) that the terms Śālaṅkāyana and Śālaṅkāyanaka (country of the Śālaṅkāyanas) are mentioned in the Gaṇapāṭha of Pāṇini. It is however certain that the Śālaṅkāyanas (Greek Salakēnoi) ruled over the Veṅgī region as early as the time of Ptolemy (*c.* 140 A. D.).

We have already said above that the seals of the Śālaṅkāyana kings bear the figure of a bull, which is probably to be

identified with Nandin. This fact and names like Nandivarman (one whose protector is Nandin) and Skandavarman (one whose protector is Skanda, son of Śiva) in the family, possibly show that the family religion of the Śālaṅkāyanas was Śaivism. It must also be noticed that all the Śālaṅkāyana kings, in their inscriptions, call themselves *Bhagavac-citrarathasvāmi-pād-ānudyāta*, i.e., meditating on the feet of Lord Citrarathasvāmin. Citrarathasvāmin is evidently the name of the family deity of the Śālaṅkāyana Mahārājas of Veṅgī which has been identified with the village of Peddavegi near Ellore in the West Godavari District. In this connection we must notice what Dr. Hultzsch has said. (Ep. Ind., IX. 58): "The correctness of this identification is confirmed by the existence of a mound which on a visit to Pedda-Vegi in 1902 was shown to me by the villagers as the site of the ancient temple of Citrarathasvāmin, the family deity of the Śālaṅkāyana Mahārājas."

The word *citraratha* according to Sanskrit Lexicons means the Sun. K. V. Lakshmana Rao therefore suggested that Citrarathasvāmin mentioned in the Śālaṅkāyana inscriptions was the Sun-God. It, however, appears to me that, as the family religion of the Śālaṅkāyanas was in all probability Śaivism, Citrarathasvāmin was possibly a form of Lord Śiva.

It must be noticed here that while, in the inscriptions, king Devavarman has been called *parama-māhessara*, king Nandivarman II is called *parama-bhāgavata*. K. V. Lakshmana Rao, who believes that the religion of the Śālaṅkāyanas was Śaivism, remarks (Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc., V. 25): "Because this epithet (scil. *parama-māheśvara*) was changed into that of *parama-bhāgavata* by the successors of this king (scil. Devavarman), we need not infer that the later Śālaṅkāyanas changed there Śaiva faith and became Vaiṣṇavas. Bhāgavata did not necessarily mean in those days a worshipper of Viṣṇu, and the followers of Śiva also were called Bhāgavatas. We have the authority of the venerable Patañjali (*on Pāṇini, V. 2. 1) for the usage of the word Śiva-Bhāgavata."

It is difficult to agree with Lakshmana Rao. In all the three inscriptions of Nandivarman II, the king is unanimously called *parama-bhāgavata*, which in its general sense suggests that the king was a devotee of Bhagavān Viṣṇu. It must be noticed that no other Śālaṅkāyana king is as yet known to have used this epithet. Moreover, we know from the Peddavegi plates that Nandivarman II granted no less than 32 *nivartanas* of land (95·2 acres according to Kauṭilya whose *nivartana* = 2·975 acres, but 23·4 acres according to a commentator whose *nivartana* = ·743 acre. See above, p. 41, note) in order to make a *devahala* for the god Viṣṇu-grha-svāmin, the lord of the three worlds. This *devahala* was cultivated by the local *vraja-pālakas* and the produce was evidently received by the authorities of the Viṣṇu-grha (temple of Viṣṇu). The word *devahala* appears to mean "ploughable lands, dedicated for the enjoyment of a god." (Cf. *vraja-pālakānām kṛṣṭum devahalaṁ = kṛtvā*; see below, p. 80). This Viṣṇu-grha-svāmī (lord of the temple of Viṣṇu) was evidently a form (*vigraha*) of lord Viṣṇu. Dedication of lands in honour of Viṣṇu-grha-svāmī and the epithet *parama-bhāgavata* together leave hardly any doubt that the Śālaṅkāyana king Nandivarman II was a Vaiṣṇava.

4. *Devavamma* (= *Devavarman*).

The earliest known Śālaṅkāyana king Devavarman has been called a devotee of Maheśvara. He is also credited with the performance of an *āsvamedha* sacrifice (*assamedha-yājī*). He, therefore, seems to have been a prince of considerable importance.

In this connection it is necessary to discuss the view of K. V. Lakshmana Rao (Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc., V: 24) who thus remarked on the epithet *Āsvamedha-yājī* (performer of the horse-sacrifice) applied to Śālaṅkāyana Devavarman in the Ellore Prakrit plates: "I am of opinion that the boast of *Āsvamedha* (horse-sacrifice) started with the Imperial Guptas, and the contagion spread to the minor dynasties like the Chedis (? Traikūṭakas), the Vākāṭakas, the Kadambas, the Śālaṅkāyanas and others.

The proximity in time of Vijaya Devavarman to Samudra Gupta's South Indian triumphal march, in my opinion, explains the insertion of the word Assamedha-yājñī (l. 5.) in the grant of Vijaya Deva. He must have seen some of the Imperial grants with similar titles and coolly imitated them." My theory, however, is exactly opposite to what has been propounded by Lakshmana Rao.

The first point to notice here is that there is no reference to any titles like *Āśramedha-yājñī* in the Gupta records. If, however, we take that the epithet of Devavarman is an imitation of *ciratsann-āśramedh-āhartā* found in the Gupta inscriptions, we are to think that the Śālaṅkāyana king lived to see the records of Samudragupta's successors, because we do not get the epithet in his own inscriptions.

But we have already shown that this Śālaṅkāyana Devavarman is earlier than Samudragupta's contemporary Hastivarman of Veṅgī and, therefore, ruled before the Gupta emperor's southern expedition. As king Devavarman appears to have ruled in the first half of the 4th century A.D.,¹ it may be that the idea of performing the horse-sacrifice was borrowed not by the Śālaṅkāyanas from the Guptas, but by the Guptas from the Śālaṅkāyanas.

Whatever the value of this suggestion may be, I have no doubt that Samudragupta got the inspiration of performing the *Āśramedha* from his connection with Southern India which may rightly be called the land of Vedic customs. Even at the present day, South India represents Vedic rituals more truly and fanatically than Northern India. So we may see it was also in ancient times. In comparison with the number and variety of Vedic sacrifices performed by early South Indian rulers, like the Sātavāhana king² referred to in the Nanaghat inscription

¹ He cannot be earlier than A.D. 300. Unlike the Sātavāhana and Ikṣvāku inscriptions, and like literary Prakrit, his grant in almost all cases expresses double-consonants by two letters and contains the usual imprecatory verses in Sanskrit. On linguistic grounds his reign is to be placed a little later than the accession of Śiśunagu-varman (c. 300 A.D.), i.e., about 320-345.

² This Sātavāhana king who has been taken to be the same as Sātavāhanasena of Nāganikā, must have ruled before the Christian era,

Rao with reference to the *Aśvamedha* of the Vākātakas is also untenable. The Vākātakas do not appear to have been inspired by the example set by Samudragupta. The Vākātaka King Pravarasena I who claims to have performed four *aśvamedhas*, along with *agniṣṭoma*, *āptoryāma*, *ukthya*, *ṣoḍaśī*, *atirātra*, *bṛhaspatisava* and *sādyaskra* (Corp. Ins. Ind., III, p. 97), appears to be earlier than Samudragupta. We know that Prabhābatīguptā, grand-daughter of Samudragupta, was given in marriage to the Vākātaka king Rudrasena II, who was grandson's grandson of Pravarasena I. A chronological chart is given for easy reference.

Vākātaka.	Gupta.
Pravarasena I	
Gautamīputra	
Rudrasena I	Candragupta I (acc. 320 A.D.)
Prthivisena I	Samudragupta (c. 330-375)
Rudrasena II married Prabhāvatīguptā	
	daughter of Candragupta II (c. 375-414).

It therefore appears that Rudrasena I Vākātaka was a contemporary of Samudragupta's father Candragupta I, who began to reign in 320 A.D. It is not impossible that the beginning of the reign of Pravarasena I, grandfather of Rudrasena I fell in the 9th or the 10th decade of the 3rd century A.D. So, if any was the borrower, it was the Guptas, and not the Vākātakas. Pravarasena I could, however, have got the inspiration from his relatives, the Bhāraśivas, who have been credited with the performance of ten *aśvamedha* sacrifices.¹

¹ Corp. Ins. Ind., III, p. 96. That this Pravarasena I was earlier than Samudragupta can also be proved from the evidence of the Purāṇas. The Purāṇas which do not mention any Gupta king by name and which limit the Gupta rule within the area—*anugamgaṃ prayāgaṃ = ca śāketa-magadhāṃ-s = tathā* (Vāyu, Ch. 99, Verse 383), not only mention Vindyaśakti and his son Pravīra (doubtless, Pravarasena I), but also refer to the performance of some *Vājapeya* (according to one Ms. *vājimedha*) sacrifice by the latter. Cf.

Vindhyaśakti-sutas = c = āpi Pravīronāma vīryavān

bhoksyanti ca samāh saṣṭiṃ puriṣ Kāñcanakāñ = ca vai

The Ellore plates, dated in the 13th year of king Devavarman and issued from Veṅgīpura, records the gift of 20 *nivartanas* of land in Eḷura (modern Ellore in the West Godavari District) to a Brahman named Gaṇaśarman belonging to the Babhura (Babhru) gotra. The Brahman was also given a house-site for himself and others for his *addhiya manuṣṣas* ("men who receive half the crop;" *addhika* of the Hirabadagalli grant; Sanskrit *ārddhika*. Cf. Mitākṣarā on Yājñavalkya, I. 166) and *dvārgas* (door-keepers). Gaṇaśarman was exempted from all taxes, and protection of the immunities was ordered by the king.

The exact meaning of Muḷuḍa in the passage *elure muḷuḍa-pamukho gāmo bhānitavvo* (villagers of Eḷura headed by Muḷuḍa should be informed) is not clear. The same word evidently occurs in some other Śālaṅkāyana inscriptions, where it has been differently read as *mutyada*, *munuḍa*, etc. The word which seems to be *mutuda* or *mutuḍa* on some plates, possibly means "the head of a village." Fleet's interpretation of *mutyada* (Ind. Ant., V. 176) as "ministers and others" (*mantri+ādi*) is certainly untenable.

The seal of king Devavarman attached to the Ellore plates is, according to Hultzsch, "all but obliterated, but a faint trace of some quadruped—perhaps a tiger—can be seen" (Ep. Ind., IX. 57). The figure is, in all probability, that of a bull, which is found on the seals of the other two Śālaṅkāyana kings.

5. *Hastivarman, Nandivarman I and Caṇḍavarman.*

As we have seen, the names of the Śālaṅkāyana kings Hastivarman and Nandivarman I are found only in the Peddavegi plates of Nandivarman II. The name of Caṇḍavarman is found in the Peddavegi and the Kollair plates. Since we have no

yakṣyanti Vājapeyāś=ca satnāpta-vara-dakṣiṇaiḥ. Vāyu (Bangabasi Ed.), Ch. 99, verses 371-72.

For fuller details, see my paper on *Samudragupta's Aśvamedha Sacrifice* in Journ. Ind. Hist., XIII, (July, 1934), pp. 35 ff.

grants issued by any of these three kings, very little is so far known about them.

In the Peddavegi plates Mahārāja Hastivarman is called *aneka-samar-āvāpta-vijaya* (one who attained victory in many battles). It may be noticed here that the Allahabad pillar inscription, which refers to the conflict between Samudragupta and king Hastivarman of Veṅgī, speaks of the different natures of the North Indian and South Indian expeditions of the Gupta monarch. While he is said to have "uprooted" the kings of the Āryāvarta, he is said to have followed a policy of "capture and liberation" with regard to the kings of the Dakṣiṇāpatha. It is, therefore, certain that the Gupta emperor was not so lucky as regards his southern expedition., and it may not be impossible that the reference to the victory in *aneka-samara* of the Śālaṅkāyana king includes also his *samara* with Samudragupta.

The epithet *pratāp-opanata-sāmanta* applied to king Caṇḍavarman shows that he was not quite a petty chief and that some subordinate rulers acknowledged his suzerainty.

6. Nandivarman II.

The Śālaṅkāyana king Caṇḍavarman was succeeded on the throne by his eldest son (*sūnur* = *jaiṣṭha*) Nandivarman II. As we have seen, this king has been called *parama-bhāgavata* in all his inscriptions. Evidently he was a Vaiṣṇava and gave up the traditional Śaivism of the Śālaṅkāyana kings.

Three copper-plate grants of this king have so far been discovered. They were all issued from Veṅgīpura.

I. The Kanteru plates (Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc., V. 21) record a notice of the king to the Mutuda and the villagers of Kuruvāḍa in the Kudrāhāra-*viṣaya*. It is notified hereby that twelve *nivartanas* of land in the said village were granted, for the increase of the king's *dharma*, *yaśaḥ*, *kula* and *gotra*, to a Brahman named Svāmidatta, who belonged to the Maudgalya gotra.

The Kudrābhāra-*viṣaya*, which is possibly the same as Kudūrahāra of the Kondamudi plates of Jayavarman, has been identified, as we have said above, with "the country adjoining the modern town of Masulipatam (Bandar)" (Anc. Hist. Dec., p. 85). This region was formerly occupied by the Brhāphalāyanas and before them possibly also by the Ikṣvākus.

The seal attached to the Kanteru plates has, in relief, the figure of a bull in couching position (J. Andhra Hist. Soc., V. 21).

II. The Kollair plates (Ind. Ant., V. 176), issued in the 7th regnal year, record another notice of the king to the Mutuda and the villagers of the Videnūrapallikā-grāma, situated in the same Kudrābhāra-*viṣaya* (Ep. Ind., IX. 58 n). The village is hereby granted to 157 Brahmanas of different gotras, who were then resident at the *agrahāra* of Kuravaka-Srīvara. The village was to be treated with immunities from all taxations, and the immunities were to be preserved by the *deśādhipatis*, *āyuktakas*, *vallabhas* and the *rāja-puruṣas*. This inscription is very important as it furnishes us with a sidelight into the Śālaṅkāyana administrative system. From the official designations, mentioned with reference to the protection of the *parihāras*, it appears that the Śālaṅkāyana kingdom was divided into several *deśas* (provinces), which were governed by the *deśādhipatis*. *Āyuktas* are mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta as "restoring the wealth of the various kings, conquered by the strength of his arm" (C.I.I., III. 14). An *āyukta* is mentioned as a *viṣayapati* (Head of a Province or District) in an inscription of Budhagupta (Ep. Ind., XV. 138). According to the Lexicographer Hemacandra an *āyukta* is the same as the *niyogin*, *karma-saciva* (cf. *karmasaciva-matisaciva*, E.I., VIII, p. 44) and *vyāpṛta*. We know from the Kondamudi plates (Above, p. 31) that a *vyāpṛta* was in charge of an *āhāra* (district). It therefore seems that the term *āyukta* also signifies "ruler of a District." The term *vallabha*, according to Amara, means *adhyakṣa*, which has been explained by the commentator as *gav-ādhyakṣa* (see *Śabdakalpadruma*,

s. v.). *Vallabha* therefore, appears to be the same as *go-dhyakṣa* (Superintendent of Cows) mentioned in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*.¹ The *rāja-puruṣas* (royal agents) are also found mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra*. They appear to be the same as the *pulisas* of the inscriptions of Aśoka.

The *ājñapti* or executor of the grant was the *Bhojaka* of *Mulaku*.² The term *bhojaka* (lit. enjoyer) has been taken to mean "free-holder." They appear to have been like the *Jāgīrdārs* of the Muslim period. *Bhoja*, according to the *Mahābhārata*, means persons who were not entitled to use the title "king" (*Arājā bhoja-śabdaṃ tvaṃ tatra prāpsyasi sāvayah*, *Ādi.*, 84. 22). According to the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* (VII, 32; VIII, 6, 12. 14. 16-17) *bhoja* was the title of South Indian kings. The term *bhojaka* in a degraded sense, may, therefore, mean a *jāgīrdār* or a protected chief. In some inscriptions, the *Bhojakas* are mentioned along with the *Rāṣṭrikas* (probably the same as the *Deśādhipatis*), e.g., *raṭhika-bhojaka* in the *Hatigumpha* inscription of *Khāravela*. It is not impossible that later on they styled themselves *Mahā-raṭhikas* (*Mahāraṭhis*) and *Mahā-bhojakas*, and that the name of the country still known as *Mahārāṣṭra* owes its origin to the former.

III. The *Peddavegi* plates (*Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, I. 92) issued in the 10th year of the reign of king *Nandivarman*

¹ It must however be noticed in this connection that the *Hirahadagalli* grant of *Pallava* *Sivaskandavarman* (*Ep. Ind.*, I, pp. 2 ff.) makes mention of *vallava* and *go-vallava* in the same passage and evidently makes a distinction between the two terms. According to Sanskrit lexicons *vallava* means a *gopa*, a cowherd. But the other word *go-vallava* certainly means a cowherd and appears to be the same as *vallava* and *vallabha* of Sanskrit lexicons. What is then the meaning of the term *vallava* in the *Hirahadagalli* grant? Curiously enough, the word *vallabha* according to the Lexicographer *Jaṭādhara* is a synonym of *aśvarakṣa*, i.e., keeper of horses. The passage *vallava* (= *vallabha* of *Jaṭādhara*)-*govallava* of the *Hirahadagalli* grant therefore appears to mean "the Keepers of horses and the Keepers of cows."

² Fleet's translation (*Ind. Ant.*, V. 177) of the passage *tatr-ājñapti(r)=mulakubhojakah* as "the command confers the enjoyment of the original royal dues there" should now be given up.

II, eldest son of Candavarman, grandson of Nandivarman I, and great-grandson of Hastivarman, records a notice of the king to the mutuda (or mutuda) and the villagers of Prālura-grāma. The king is said to have hereby granted a *devahala* to Viṣṇu-gr̥ha-svāmin, lord of the three worlds. *Devahala* is evidently the same as *devabhogahala* of the passage *devabhogahala-varijam*, which is so common in the Pallava grants and has been translated by Hultzsch as “with the exception of cultivated lands enjoyed by temples” (Ep. Ind., VIII. 165). Fleet (Ind. Ant., V, p. 157 and note) translated the same passage as “with the exception of the plough of the possession of the god” and remarked, “The meaning would seem to be that the grant did not carry with it the right to some cultivated land in the same village which had already been given to the village-god. A similar word is *bhikhu-hala* (=bhikṣuhala, *i.e.*, cultivated land offered to the Buddhist monks) which occurs in the Nasik cave inscription No. 3 and a Karle cave inscription, and has been ably explained by Senart (Ep. Ind., VII, p. 66). These technical words signified religious donations along with certain privileges (*parihāras*). The *devahala* granted by Nandivarman II was to be cultivated by the *vraja-pālakas* (herdsmen) and comprised 10 *nivartanas* of land at Aṛuṭṭa, 10 *nivartanas* at Muṇḍura-grāma, 6 *nivartanas* at Ceñceruva-grāma and 6 *nirvartanas* at Kamburañceruva. The *deśādhipatis*, *āyuktakas*, *vallabhas* and the *rāja-purusas* were ordered to protect the grant. The executor of the grant was the Bhojaka of Mulakura, possibly the same as that of the Kollair plates. The grant was written by a *rahasyā-dhikṛta* (Privy Councillor. Cf. *matiasaciva* of the Junāgaḍh inscription of Rudradāman, Ep. Ind., VIII, pp. 44 ff., line 17), whose name was Kāṭikūri.

7. Skandavarman.

Only one inscription of king Skandavarman has so far been discovered. It is the Kanteru grant, issued from Veṅḡi and

dated in the 1st year of the king's reign. It records a royal notice to the villagers of Kuḍuhāra-Cinnapura. It is hereby declared that the said village was granted to Śivārya of the Maudgalya gotra, a resident of Lekumārigrāma. All the officers including the *āyuktakas* and the *viṣayapatīs* were ordered to make it immune from all taxations (*sarva-niyoga-niyukt-āyo(yu)ktaka-riṣayapatimiśraih sā pallikā parihartavyā*). The mention of the *viṣayapati* in this connection possibly shows that the *deśas* or provinces of the Śālaṅkāyana kingdom were further subdivided into *riṣayas* (districts), each of which was under a *viṣayapati*. The *Āyuktakas* appear to have ruled the subdivisions (*āhāras*?) of the *riṣayas*.

We do not definitely know whether Kuḍuhāra is the same as Kudrāhāra and whether Kuḍuhāra-Cinnapura means "Cinnapura in Kuḍuhāra." Cinnapura has been identified with the present village of Cinnapuram in the Bandar tāluka (Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc., V. 25-26).

According to Lakshmana Rao there is the figure of a bull on the seal of Skandavarman attached to the Kanteru plates.

APPENDIX B.

THE PEDDAVEGI PLATES OF NANDIVARMAN II.

The Peddavegi plates appear to be in an excellent state of preservation. All the characters are perfectly legible.

These plates were edited by Mr. R. Subba Rao in Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc., I. 92 ff. My reading is based on the excellent plates published along with Mr. Subba Rao's paper.

Text.

1st Plate : 2nd Side

- L. 1. Svasti[||*] Vijaya-Veṅgīpurān = naika(d = aneka)-
samar-āvāpta-vijayino(vijayasya)
- L. 2. I. Hastivarmma-mahārājasya prapautraḥ(°tro) vivi-
dha-dharmma-
- L. 3. pradhānasya Nandivarmma-mahārājasya pautraḥ

2nd Plate : 1st Side

- L. 4. pratāp-opanata-sāmantasyā(sya) Caṇḍavarmma-
mahāra(rā)ja-
- L. 5. II. sya putro jyeṣṭhaḥ(ṣṭho) bhagavac-Citrarathasvāmi-
- L. 6. pād-ānudhyāto bappa-bhaṭṭārakapāda-bhaktah

2nd Plate : 2nd Side

- L. 7. parama-bhāgavataś = Śālaṅkāyano Maba(hā)rāja-
grī(Śrī)-Nandi-
- L. 8. varmmā Prālura-grāme Mutuḍa-sahitān = grāmeya-
- L. 9. kān = sama(mā)jñāpayati[||*] Asti(asty =) asmad-
dharmma-yaśo-'bhi-

3rd Plate : 1st Side

- L. 10. vṛddhy-arthan = triloka-nāthasya Viṣṇugṛhasvā-
mina[h] Aṛu(°no = 'ru)-
- L. 11. III. toṛe vraja-pālakānām kraṣṭum devahalaṇ = kṛtvā
- L. 12. (a)smābhir = bhūmi-nivarttanāni daśa X tathaiva

3rd Plate : 2nd Side

- L. 13. Muṇḍūra-grāme bhūmi-nivarttanāni daśa X
Ceñceru-
- L. 14. va-grāme bhūmi-nivarttanāni ṣaṭ VI tath = ai-
- L. 15. va Kamburāñceruve bhūmi-nivarttanāni ṣaṭ VI

4th Plate : 1st Side

- L. 16. de(da)ttāni[||*] Tad = avagamyā deśādhipaty-
āyuktaka-valla-
- L. 17. IV. bha-rājapuruṣ-ādibhiḥ(ḥ) = parihartavyāni||
- L. 18. Pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṃvatsarasya daśa-

4th Plate : 2nd Side

- L. 19. masya X Śrāvaṇa-māsa-śukla-pakṣasya Pratipa-
- L. 20. di paṭṭikā dattā[||*] Ājñā(jñā)ptir = Mulakūra-
bhojaka [ḥ||*]
- L. 21. Likhitam rahasyādhikṛtena Kāṭikūrīṇā[||*]

5th Plate : 1st Side

- L. 22. Bahubhirv = vasudhā dattā bahubhiś
= c = ānupālītā [| *]
- L. 23. V. Yasya yasya yadā bhūmi[s*] = tasya tasya
tadā phalam[||*]
- L. 24. Śaṣṭi-varṣa-sahasrāṇi svarge krīḍati
bhūmidah[| *]

5th Plate : 2nd Side

- L. 25. Ākṣeptā c = ābbhimantā ca tāny = eva narake
vased = iti(ḥ)[||]

CHAPTER V

THE VIṢṆUKUṆḌINS.

1. *Genealogy of the Viṣṇukunḍins.*¹

The history of the Viṣṇukunḍins has been touched by scholars like Kielhorn, Hultzsch, Dubreuil and many others. The author of these pages holds an altogether different view as regards the genealogy and chronology of the dynasty. The question of genealogy shall be discussed in the present and that of chronology in the next section.

The first known inscription of the Viṣṇukunḍins is the Chikkulla plates edited by Kielhorn in *Ep. Ind.*, IV. 193 ff. These plates give us the following line of kings:—

1. Mahārāja Mādhavavarman; his son
2. Vikramendravarman (I); his son
3. Mahārāja Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman; his eldest son
4. Mahārāja Vikramendravarman (II); (10th year).

Then come the Ramatirtham plates, edited by Hultzsch in *Ep. Ind.*, XII. 133 ff. Here we have the following line:—

1. Mahārāja Mādhavavarman; his son
2. Rājā Vikramendra; his son
3. Rājā Indravarman; (27th year).

There can hardly be any doubt that the Rājā Indravarman of the Ramatirtham plates is identical with the Mahārāja Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman of the Chikkulla plates.

¹ My paper on the Viṣṇukunḍin genealogy was originally published in *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, IX, pp. 273 ff.

Next we have two sets of copper-plate grants belonging to this dynasty, which were found at a place called Ipur in the Tenali tāluka of the Guntur District. They were edited by Hultsch in Ep. Ind., XVII. In the first set of these plates, (*ibid.*, p. 334) we have the following line :

1. Mahārāja Govindavarman ; his son
2. Mahārāja Mādhavavarman (37th year) ; his son
3. Maṇcaṇṇa-bhaṭṭāraka.

Hultsch, on grounds of palæography, identified Mādhavarman of the first set of the Ipur plates with the king of the same name in the Ramatirtham and Chikkulla plates. It can be easily shown that later writers, who have disapproved of this identification as unwarranted, are themselves wrong. The epithets applied to the name of this king, as found in the Chikkulla. Ramatirtham and Ipur (set I) plates, clearly establish the identity. Let us here quote the corresponding passages of the three inscriptions.

1. Chikkulla plates : *Ekādaś-āśvamedh-āvabhrit-(bhṛth)-āvadhauta-jagadka(t-ka)lmaṣasya kratu-sahasra-yājina[h]* sarvva-medh-āvāpta-sarvvabhūta-svārājyasya bahusuvārṇṇa - paundarīka-puruṣamedha-vājapeya-yudhya-śoḍaśi-rājasūya-prādhirājya - [prā]jāpaty-ādy-aneka-vividha-prṛthu-guru-vara-śatasahasra-yājina[*h] kratuvar-ānuṣṭhāt-ādhiṣṭhā-pratiṣṭhita-parameṣṭhitvasya mahārājasya sakala-jagan-maṇḍala-vīmala-guru-pri(pr)tau-kṣitipati-makuṭa-maṇi-ga[ṇa-ni] kar-āvanata-pādayugalasya mādhavavarmma-na[h].

2. Ramatirtham plates : Sakala-mahī-maṇḍal-āvanata-sāmanta-makuṭa-maṇi-kiraṇ-āvaliḍha-carāṇa-yugo vikhyāta-yaśāḥ śrīman-mahārāja-mādhavavarmma—tasy - orjjitaśrī - viṣṇukunḍi-pārthiv-odit-odit-ānvaya-tilaka-[samudbhūt-ai] *kādaś-āśvamedh-āvabhṛta(tha)-vidhauta - jagat- kalāmaṣa - kratusahasra- [yā]jinaḥ* snāna-puṇyodaka-pavitrikṛta-śīrasaḥ.

3. Ipur plates (set I) : Smṛti-mati-bala-satva(ttva)-dhairyya-vīryya-vinaya-sampannaḥ sakala-mahīmaṇḍala-manujapati-prati-

pūjita-sāsanaḥ(°nas =) trivara-nagara-bhavana-gata-yuvati-hṛdaya-nandanahḥ sva[na]ya-bala-vijita-sakala-sāmanta-ātula-bala-vinaya-naya-niyama-satva(ttvā)-sampannaḥ sakala-jagad-avanipati-pratipūjita-sāsanaḥ agniṣṭoma-sahasra-yāji-hi[*ra]nyagarbbha-prasūta(h) ekā-daś-āśvamedh-āvabhṛtha-vidhūta - jagat - kālmaṣaḥ susti(sthi)ra-karma-mahārāja-śrī-mādhavavarmanā.

When we remember the fact that no other Viṣṇukūṇḍin king is as yet known to have performed a single sacrifice of any kind except the one named Mādhavavarman and when we note further the unique numbers—ELEVEN *Āśvamedhas* and THOUSAND *agniṣṭomas* (*kratus*), testified to by all the above three inscriptions, there remains no doubt as regards the correctness of the identification proposed by Hultzsch.

The second set of the Ipur plates (Ep. Ind., XVII, p. 337) gives us the following line of kings :

1. Mahārāja Mādhavavarman (I) ; his son
2. Devavarman ; his son
3. Mādhavavarman (II) ; (17th ? year).

As regards Mādhavavarman (II), the issuer of this set of the Ipur plates, Hultzsch says : “ As the alphabet of the inscription seems to be of an earlier type than that of the preceding one (scil. Ipur plates : set I), and as grandsons are frequently named after their grandfather, I consider it not impossible that Mādhavarman II was the grandfather of Govindavarman's son Mādhavavarman, who would then have to be designated Mādhavarman III.” A consideration of the evidence of the two sets of the Ipur plates render this theory untenable. It is to be noted that Mādhavavarman (I), the grandfather of the issuer of the Ipur plates (set II) is called in that inscription : *ekādaś-āśvamedh-āvabhṛth-āvadhūta-jagat-kālmaṣasy-agniṣṭomasahasra-yājino* = 'neka sāmanta- makūṭa- kūṭa- maṇi- khacita-carāṇa - yugala - kamalasya mahārājasya śrī-mādhavavarmanah. We request our readers to compare this passage with the corresponding passage quoted above from the Ipur plates (set I). Can there be any doubt

whatsoever about the identity of this Mādhavavarman (I) with the king of the same name of the Ipur plates (set I), and also of the Chikkulla and the Ramatirtham plates? It is highly improbable that two kings of the same name and dynasty and of the same period performed exactly equal numbers—ELEVEN and THOUSAND—of great sacrifices, such as the *aśvamedha* and the *agniṣṭoma*. We, therefore, think it perfectly justifiable to identify the king named Mādhavavarman, who has been credited with the performance of eleven *aśvamedhas* and thousand *agniṣṭomas* (*kratus*) in all the different Viṣṇukunḍin inscriptions.

Moreover, the theory of Hultzsch that Mādhavavarman (whom he is inclined to designate Mādhavavarman III), son of Govindavarman of the Ipur plates (set I), is the grandson of Mādhavavarman II of the Ipur plates (set II), has now been disproved by the discovery of the Polamuru plates, where Mādhavarman, son of Govindavarman, is represented as the grandson of Vikramahendra, and not of a king entitled Mādhavavarman.

The Polamuru plates, edited¹ in the Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc., VI. 17ff., give us the following line of kings:

1. Vikramahendra ; his son
2. Govindavarman ; his son
3. Mahārāja Mādhavavarman (40th ? year).

That this Mādhavavarman of the Polamuru plates can be no other than the famous performer of eleven *aśvamedhas* and thousand *agniṣṭomas* is proved by his significant epithets:—atula-bala-parākrama-yaśo-dāna-vinaya-sampanno daśaśata-sakala-dharaṇī-tala - narapatir = avasita- vividha-divyas = trivaranagara- bhavana-gata - parama - yuvatijana- viharana- ratir = anna(na)nya- nṛpati-sādhāraṇa-dāna-māna-dayā-dama-dhṛti-mati-kṣānti-śoriyau (śaurya) dārya- gāmbhī (bhī)ryya- prabhṛty- aneka- guṇa-sampaj-janīta- raya-samutthita-bhūmaṇḍala-vyāpi-vipula-yaśoh (śāh) *brahmasāra-yājñ hiraṇyagarbha-prasūta(h) ekādaś-aśvamedh-agniṣṭoma-snāna-vigata-jagad-enaskah* sarvabhūta-parirakṣana-*śaśana*

¹ Previously edited by K. V. Lakshmana Rao in Journ. Dep. Letters. Cal. Univ. Vol. XI, p. 31.

vidvadvi(d-dvi)ja-guru-vrddha - tapasvijan - āśrayo mahārājah
śrī-mādhavavarmanā.

It appears, however, that Mādhavavarman and Govindavarman have respectively been called Janāśraya and Vikramāśraya in this inscription, and it may be argued that they are not identical with the kings of the same names of the Ipur plates (set I). But this doubt is unjustifiable in view of the fact that Mādhavarman of the Polamuru plates is not only called son of Govindavarman and credited with the performance of eleven *aśvamedhas* and thousand *agniṣṭomas*, but is also called *hiraṇyagarbha-prasūta* and *trivara-nagara-bhavana-gata-parama-yuvati-jana-viharaṇa-rati* (*trivara-nagara-bhavana-gata-yuvati-hṛdaya-nandana* in the Ipur plates), which epithets we find only in his own Ipur plates (set I). There can therefore be no doubt that the Ipur plates (set I) and the Polamuru plates were issued by one and the same person.

In this connection, we must notice the view of some scholars,¹ who have identified Mādhavavarman II of the Ipur plates (set II), with the king of the same name of the Chikkulla and the Ramatirtham plates, and Vikramahendra of the Polamuru plates with Vikramendrarvarman II of the Chikkulla plates. We have noted above that only one king of the Viṣṇukunḍin family may be believed to have performed sacrifices, and, though there seems to be a little exaggeration in the inscription

¹ Sewell, following K. V. Lakshmana Rao, has given the following genealogy of the Viṣṇukunḍin kings in his *Hist. Ins. South. Ind.* (1932), p. 404 :—

1. Mādhava I, c. A. D. 357-382.
2. Devavarman, c. 382-407.
3. Mādhava II, c. 407-444. (Ipur grant No. 2.)
4. Vikramendra I, c. 444-469.
5. Indrabhaṭṭāraka, c. 469-496. (Ramatirtham grant.)
6. Vikramendra II, c. 496-521. (Chikkulla grant.)
7. Govinda, c. 521-546.
8. Mādhava III 'Janāśraya,' 546—(?) 610. (Polamuru grant and Ipur grant No. 1)
9. Maṇḍanna-bhaṭṭāraka, (?) 610—?

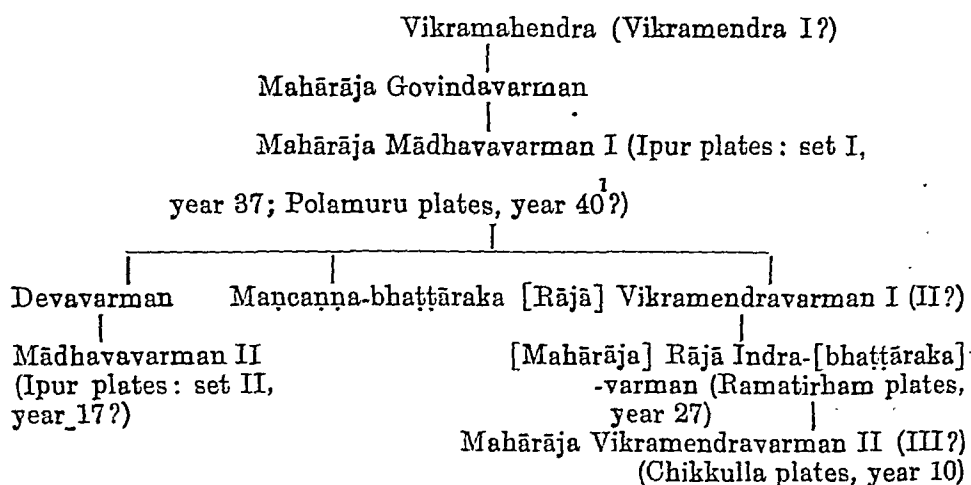
of one of his successors, in all the inscriptions of the dynasty, that king—Mādhavavarman (I), son of Govindavarman and father of Devavarman and Vikramendravarman I—has been credited with the performance of ELEVEN *aśvamedhas* and THOUSAND *agniṣṭomas* (*kratus*). As is also noted above, we think it almost impossible that there can be more than one Mādhavavarman, performer of eleven *aśvamedhas* and thousand *agniṣṭomas*, in the same family and the same period. But if we accept the above identifications we have *three* Mādhavavarmans—I, II and III—all of whom were performers of eleven *aśvamedhas* and thousand *agniṣṭomas*! ¹ Moreover, the identification of Mādhavavarman II of the Ipur plates (set II), with his namesake of the Chikkulla and Ramatirtham plates is, in my opinion, next to impossible. In the Chikkulla and Ramatirtham plates, we have the significant epithets of the great Mādhavavarman, crediting him with the performance of eleven *aśvamedhas* and thousand *agniṣṭomas*, but these epithets are conspicuous by their absence in the Ipur plates (set II) in connection with the name of Mādhavavarman II. The date of the plates, which is not fully legible but which appears to me to be year 17, has been read by Hultzsch as the 47th year of the king. Is it possible that a king, who performed among other sacrifices eleven *aśvamedhas* and thousand *agniṣṭomas*, did not perform a single of them before the 47th (if my reading is correct, 17th) year of his reign or forgot to refer to such glorious performances in his own inscription? It is also significant that Mādhavavarman II has no royal title even in his own Ipur plates (set II). Moreover, the identification becomes utterly untenable when we notice that those significant epithets regarding the performance of 11 *aśvamedhas* and 1,000 *agniṣṭomas* have been attached in this inscription to the name of his grandfather Mādhavavarman I. We therefore hold that there were only *two*, and not *three*, Mādhavavarmans in the Viṣṇukunḍin family and that the first of them, who was the

¹ See *Above*, p. 88, note 1.

grand-father of the second, performed a good many sacrifices including eleven *āśvamedhas* and thousand *agniṣṭomas*.

As regards the second identification, nothing need be said after our identification of Mādhavavarman I, the great performer of sacrifices. But it must be noticed that his name is written in the inscription as Vikramahendra, which may be the engraver's mistake for Vikramamahendra. If, however, we take it as a slip for Vikramendra, the king should be designated Vikramendra there being two other Vikramendras in the family.

The following is the genealogical arrangement of the Viṣṇukunḍin princes according to our theory :



2. Chronology of the Viṣṇukunḍins.²

We have already dealt with the genealogy of the Viṣṇukunḍin kings. Here we shall discuss the order of succession of the kings of this family and the period to which they are to be assigned.

¹ There is only one numerical symbol on the plate. In the Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, VI (17 ff., line 41), it has been deciphered as 49. It looks like a ligature of the symbol for 40 and that for 8; but as far as I know, there was no method known in ancient India by which a number like 49 could be expressed by one numerical symbol only. The symbol possibly signifies 40 (or 70 ?).

² My paper on the Viṣṇukunḍin chronology was originally published in *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, IX, pp. 957-66.

The first known king of the dynasty is, as we have seen, Vikramahendra. Though he has been given no royal title in the Polamuru grant of his grandson Mādhavavarman I, his epithets *viṣṇukonḍinām* = *appratihata-śāsana* and *sva - pratāp - opanata-sāmanta-manujapati-maṇḍala* seem to prove that he was a king and had some feudatories under him. His son Govindavarman Vikramāśraya has been called Mahārāja in the Ipur plates (set I) of his son Mādhavavarman I.

Mādhavavarman I Janāśraya, the greatest of the Viṣṇukunḍin kings, appears to have at least three sons, viz., Devavarman, Mañcaṇṇa-bhaṭṭāraka,¹ and Vikramendravarman I (born of a Vākāta, i.e. Vākāṭaka princess). Of these we know almost nothing about Mañcaṇṇa. Of the other two, viz., Devavarman and Vikramendravarman I, it is known with certainty that their sons became kings. We have the Ipur plates (set II) of Devavarman's son Mādhavavarman II and the Ramatirtham plates of Vikramendravarman I's son Indravarman. Should we then suppose that after the death of Mādhavavarman I the Viṣṇukunḍin kingdom was split up into two divisions, ruled separately by his two sons, Devavarman and Vikramendravarman I? It however seems to me risky to suggest division of kingdom, whenever we find two sons of a king or their descendants ruling. It may not be unreasonable to think that there was no such division of kingdom after the death of Mādhavavarman I.

Mādhavavarman I possibly died at a very old age. The date of the Polamuru grant of this king seems to be year 40 or, if K. V. Lakshmana Rao's reading is correct, year 48. It seems, therefore, not impossible that the elder children of Mādhavavarman I died

¹ Mañcaṇṇa as a personal name is known to have been used in the Kanarese country in the 12th century A.D. Mañcaṇṇa was the name of a minister of Bijjala or Vijjana, the Kalacurya king of Kalyāṇa (1145-1167 A.D.). This minister was a rival of the king's other minister Basava (Bṛṣabha), the famous founder of the Viraśaiva or Lingāyat sect (J. B. B. R.A.S., VIII, pp. 78, 88, 128, and Bomb. Gaz., I, Pt. II, p. 479). Among minor instances we may take Mañcaṇṇa a Brahman mentioned as receiving some gifts of land in an inscription of the Yādava king Siṅghana (1210-1247 A. D.) dated in Śaka samv 1173 (C. P. No. 4 of 1925-26).

before their father's death. In view of the fact that Devavarman, in the Ipur plates (set II) of his son Mādhavavarman II, has the only epithet *kṣatriy-āvaskanda-pravarttit-āpratima-vikhyāta-parākrama*, which can by no means suggest his accession to the throne, it appears that this son of Mādhavavarman I did not rule, but predeceased his father. Now we are to determine whether Mādhavavarman I was succeeded by his son Vikramendravarman I or by his grandson Mādhavavarman II.

According to the Ipur plates (set I), Mādhavavarman I granted the village of Bilembali in the Guddādi-viṣaya to Agniśarman, a Brahman of the Vatsa gotra. In the Ipur plates (set II), we notice the grant of a village—the name of which seems to me to be Murotukaliki—by Mādhavavarman II to two Brahmans named Agniśarman and Indraśarman. It is not impossible that Agniśarman of the first set is identical with his namesake who was one of the two recipients of the second set of the Ipur plates. In view of the above fact and also the fact that Devavarman, who seems to have predeceased his father, was possibly an elder brother of Vikramendravarman I, Mādhavavarman II appears to have succeeded his grandfather on the throne. The date of his Ipur plates (set II) has been read by Hultzsch as [40] 7, but he says: "The first figure of the year in the date portion is injured and uncertain" (Ep. Ind., XVII 338). The figure in question, however, seems to be 10 and, consequently, the date may be read as year 17.

Mādhavavarman II was possibly succeeded by his uncle Vikramendravarman I who appears to have been considerably aged at the time of his accession. We have as yet no copper-plate grant issued by this king. The duration of his rule cannot be determined. But if we grant a reign-period of about 25 years to each of the Viṣṇukunḍin kings, a consideration of the regnal dates of the known kings of the family, seems to suggest not a very long reign-period of this king. "His reign was probably short" (Dubreuil, *Anc. Hist. Dec.*, 91).

The succession from Vikramendravarman I to Vikramendravarman II appears to be regularly from father to son. All these kings have royal titles in the inscriptions. We, however, cannot be definite as regards the number of Viṣṇukunḍin kings that ruled before Vikramabendra and after Vikramendravarman II.

We have now to consider the time of the Viṣṇukunḍin kings. Fortunately for us, the date of Mādhavavarman I can be determined with a certain degree of precision.

The Polamuru plates of Madhavavarman I record the grant of the village of Pulobūru in the Guddavādi viṣaya by the king in his 40th (or 48th) year as an *agrahāra* to Śivaśarman, a scholar of the Taittiriya school belonging to the Gautama gotra, resident of Kunṛūra in Karmarāṣṭra, son of Dāmaśarman and grandson of Rudraśarman. Next, we are to notice the contents of the Polamuru plates of the Eastern Cālukya king Jayasimha I (Ep. Ind., XIX. 254 ff.), who began to rule from c. 633 A.D. These plates record the gift of the village of Pulobūmra in the Guddavādi-viṣaya in the 5th year (15th year, according to *An. Rep. S. Ind. Ep.*, 1914, p. 10) of the king's reign to Rudraśarman, a scholar of the Taittiriya school belonging to the Gautama gotra, resident of Asanapura-sthāna, son of Śivaśarman and grandson of Dāmaśarman. There can be no doubt that Pulobūru of the former inscription is identical with the Pulobūmra of the latter, and that the village is to be identified with the modern Polamuru (the find-spot of both the inscriptions) near the Anaparti Railway Station in the East Godavari District. There can also be no doubt that Śivaśarman (son of Dāmaśarman), the recipient of the grant of Mādhavavarman I, was the father of Rudraśarman (son of Śivaśarman and grandson of Dāmaśarman), the recipient of the grant of Jayasimha I. In the latter grant, Rudraśarman is expressly called *pūrvāgrahārika*, "the former owner of the *agrahāra*." Now, how many years intervened between the date of the first grant and that of the second, that is to say, between the

40th (or 48th) year of Mādhavavarman I and the 5th year of Jayasimha I ?

In considering this question, we are to note the following points. *Agrahāras*¹ were generally granted to Brahmins when they returned from the *gurukula* after finishing studies, in order to help them in settling themselves as *grhasthas*. It may therefore be conjectured that Sivaśarman received Polamuru at about the age of 25 or 30,² when king Mādhavavarman was in the 40th (48th according to some) year of his reign. The king thus appears to have been old at the time of granting this *agrahāra* to the Brāhman youth. Sivaśarman, however, certainly died before the date of the grant of Jayasimha I. The epithet *pūrv-āgrahārika* applied to the name of his son in Jayasimha I's grant, possibly goes to show that Rudraśarman, as successor of his father, enjoyed the *agrahāra* for some time before the 5th year of Jayasimha I, *i.e.* before c. 637 A.D. The most interesting point in this connection, however, is that Rudraśarman in Jayasimha I's grant is called "resident of the town of Asanapura." He is expected to have resided at Kunrūra in Karmarāṣṭra, the original place of his father, or at Polamuru, the *agrahāra* granted to his father by king Mādhavavarman I. When we remember this change in residence and when we further see that Jayasimha I, at the time of the execution of the Polamuru grant, was stationed in a camp, *vijaya-skandhāvāra*, it appears that in the early years of his reign, Jayasimha I led an

¹ *Agrahāra* means *gurukulād=āvṛtta—brahmacāriṇe deyaṃ kṣetrādi*. See Tārānātha's *Vācaspatya*, s. v.

² According to Manu (III. 1-2), a Brahmacārin should study the Vedas (three Vedas, two Vedas or one Veda) in the *gurugṛha* for thirty-six years or for half or one-fourth of that period, and should then enter the *grhasthāśrama*. The same authority however also says (IX. 94) that a man of thirty years of age should marry a girl of twelve and a man of twenty-four a girl of eight. Kullūka Bhaṭṭa on this verse has: *etac=ca yogya-kāla-pradarśana-param, na tu niyamārtham*; *prāyeṣ=aitāvātā kālena grhītavēdo bhavati*, *tribhāgavayaskā ca kanyā voḍhur=yuno yogy=eti*; *grhītavēdaś=c=opakurvāṇako grhasth-āśramam prati na vilambet=eti satvara=ity=asy=ārthaḥ*. A story of the *Chhāndogya Upaniṣad* (VI-1-2) says that Śvetaketu went to his *guru* at the age of twelve and returned home after finishing all the Vedas at the age of twenty-four.

expedition to the Viṣṇukunḍin country and encamped in the Guddavādi-viṣaya, somewhere near Polamuru; that constant fights were going on between the forces of the Cālukyas and those of the Viṣṇukunḍins, and that Rudraśarman, the *āgrahārika* of Polamuru, had to flee to the town of Asanapura (near Draksharama in the West Godavari District) in this troubled period, but came back after some time, when Jayasimha I was temporarily or permanently master of the whole of the Guddavādi-viṣaya or a considerable part of it.¹ Considering all these points, I think it not impossible that the difference between the time of the two Polamuru grants was about half a century.²

¹ The mastery of two different powers over two different parts of one district does not appear to be impossible. The Candras (*cf.* the Rampal grant of Śricandra, *Inscr. Beng.*, III, No. 1) and the Varman (*cf.* Belava grant of Bhojavarman *ibid.*, No. 3), kings of South-Eastern Bengal granted lands in the Puṇḍrabhukti, which has been presumably taken to be the same as the famous Puṇḍravardhanabhukti. But it seems impossible that the Candras and Varmans were ever master of the Koṭivarga or Dinajpur region of the Puṇḍravardhanabhukti. I, therefore, think that in the age of the later Pālas, the *bhukti* of Puṇḍravardhana was divided between the kings of Gauḍa and the kings of South-Eastern Bengal. The slight change in the name of the *bhukti* probably goes to confirm this suggestion.

² The difference between the time of the execution of these two grants may possibly be greater and, consequently, Mādhavavarman I might have ascended the Viṣṇukunḍin throne a little earlier. But I do not want to go far beyond the estimate of Mr. Subba Rao who suggests that the period may be about 40 years. This suggestion however, seems to be invalidated by another suggestion of his. He takes Hastikośa and Virakośa, who were the executors of the grant of Jayasimha I, as personal names. We must notice, here that the executors of the grant of Mādhavavarman I were also Hastikośa and Virakośa. If we think that these two persons were officers in charge of the Guddavādi viṣaya, under Mādhavavarman I and also under Jayasimha I, the intervening period between the grants of the two kings should possibly be shorter than 40 years. We must however note in this connection that there were a Hastikośa and a Virakośa in the Tāḷupāka viṣaya, who were ordered by king Pṛthivīmūla of the Godavari plates (J. B. B. R. A. S., XVI 144 ff.) to protect an *agrahāra* in the same viṣaya. Fleet, the editor of the Godavari plates, may be right when he says, "I do not know of any other mention of these two officials, who evidently kept the purses and made disbursements on account of respectively the establishment of elephants and heroes who were to be rewarded for deeds of valour." The epithet *mahāmātra-yodha* applied to Hastikośa-Virakośa in the Polamuru grant of Mādhavavarman I, seems to show that they were Mahāmātra of the Military Department. It may also be that the epithet *mahāmātra* goes with Hastikośa and *yodha* with Virakośa. The word Mahāmātra, according to Medini, means *hastipakādhīpa* (the head of the elephant-drivers or riders; *cf.* *vulgo. māhut*). The word *yodha* generally means "a soldier." Hastikośa and Virakośa have been taken to be "officers in command of the elephant force and the infantry" in *An. Rep. S. Ind. Ep.*, 1914, p. 85.

Then, the 40th (or 48th) year of Mādhavavarman I may be c. 637 A.D. (date of Jayasimha's grant) minus 50, that is, c. 587 A.D. Mādhavavarman I therefore seems to have ruled from about the end of the first half to about the end of the second half of the sixth century.

In connection with the period of Mādhavavarman I, we must also notice the passage of the Polamuru inscription, which records a grant made by the king when he was crossing the river Godāvārī with a view to conquering the eastern region and another passage which refers to a lunar eclipse in the *Phālgunī-Paurṇamāsī* (i.e. the full-moon day of the month of Phālguna) as the occasion of the grant. The connection of Mādhavavarman I with the "eastern region" seems to indicate that he was possibly the *andhrādhipati* (lord of the Andhra country) who was defeated by the Maukhari king Īśānavarman according to the Haraha inscription of Vikrama Saṃ 611, i.e. A.D. 544 (*vide infra*). This synchronism also places Mādhavavarman I Viṣṇukunḍin in the middle of the 6th century A.D.

We have just noticed that the village of Pulobūru was granted on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in the *Phālgunī-Pūrṇimā*. In the second half of the 6th century, lunar eclipses occurred in the above *tithi* on the following dates :

- (1) 11th February, 556 A.D.
- (2) 2nd March, 565 ,,
- (3) 21st February, 574 ,,
- (4) 11th February, 575 ,,
- (5) 21st February, 593 ,,
- (6) 10th February, 594 ,,

Of these dates, years 593 and 594 may be tacitly rejected as they appear to be too late. But it is impossible at the present state of our knowledge to ascertain on which of the other four dates was the grant issued. If, however, we presume that the date of the Polamuru grant falls on any of these four dates and if

further the reading of the date be accepted as 40, Mādhavavarman I Viṣṇukunḍin certainly began to reign sometime between 516 and 535 A.D.¹ The approximate chronology of the Viṣṇukunḍin kings, then, may be taken as follows :

1. Rise of the Viṣṇukunḍin power in the 5th century A.D.²
2. Vikramahendra (Vikramendra I?) *circa* 500—520 A.D.
3. Govindavarman „ 520—535 „
4. Mādhavavarman I „ 535—585 „
5. Mādhavavarman II „ 585—615 „
6. Vikramendravarman I (II?) „ 615—625 „
7. Indra-[bhaṭṭāraka]-varman „ 625—655 „
8. Vikramendravarman II (III?) „ 655—670 „
9. End of the dynasty possibly somewhere in the 8th century A.D.

The period assigned to Indravarman, *viz.*, *circa* 625-655 A.D., is, I think, supported by some views expressed by Fleet in J.B.B.R.A.S., XVI, p. 116. While editing the Godavari

¹ Mādhavavarman I married a Vākāṭaka princess and his descendants are represented as boasting of the Vākāṭaka connection. His date does not, therefore, seem to be far removed from the glorious age of the Vākāṭakas, *viz.*, the 5th century A.D. Small places the relative of the Vākāṭakas in about 500 A.D. (J.R.A.S., 1914, p. 132). It is true that Mādhavavarman I is to be placed between the 5th century, the glorious period of the Vākāṭakas, and the 7th century, the age of Jayasimha I Eastern Cālukya. It therefore seems certain that the reign of Mādhavavarman I began in the first half of the 5th century A.D.

² It may be tempting to connect the Viṣṇukunḍins with the Vīṭhala-Cajjakūṭana-Sātakarṇi kings, whose inscriptions (see Lüders' List of Brahmi Ins., Nos. 1021, 1146 and 1195) and coins (Rapson, B. M. Catalogue of Andhra Coins, p. 17) have been discovered. Viṣṇukunḍa may possibly be taken to be the same as Vīṭhala, *i.e.*, Viṣṇukunḍa which gives the name of the family whereto our kings belonged. But a serious objection that can be raised in this connection is that the Cajjakūṭana-Sātakarṇi who claimed to have belonged to the Mānarya-gotra used metronymies like Vīṭhala-gotra, along with their names like the Sātavāhana-Sātakarṇis. The practice of such such metronymies and also the gotra name is found, though in a modified way, in the inscriptions of the Kadambas and the Cālukyas; but it is conspicuous by its absence in the inscriptions of the Viṣṇukunḍins. There is therefore no evidence at present to connect the Viṣṇukunḍins with the ancient Sātakarṇi kings.

³ According to Kielhorn, the Cālikā plates (Ep. Ind., IV, 196, 190-2) are palaeographically assigned to the 7th or the 8th century A.D.

plates of Pr̥thivīmūla, Fleet said : “The Adhirāja¹ Indra at whose request the grant was made, is mentioned as having fought in company with other chiefs who united to overthrow a certain Indrabhaṭṭāraka. Taking into consideration the locality (* the Godavari District) from which the grant comes, and its approximate period as indicated by the palæographical standard of the characters and the use of numerical symbols in the date, there can be no doubt that Indrabhaṭṭāraka is the Eastern Chalukya of that name, the younger brother of Jayasimha I.” According to many of the Eastern Cālukya grants; however, this Indrabhaṭṭāraka did not reign at all, though some grants assign a reign period of only 7 days to him. It is, therefore, highly improbable that Indrabhaṭṭāraka of the Godavari grant of Pr̥thivīmūla was identical with the Eastern Cālukya of that name. Prof. Dubreuil is almost certainly right in identifying the Indrabhaṭṭāraka of the Godavari plates with the Viṣṇukunḍin king Indravarman or Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman.

Fleet further remarked : “And the figurative expression that the Adhirāja Indra mounted upon the elephant *supratīka* of the north-east quarter, overthrew the elephant *kumuda* of the south-east or southern quarter, shows that this attack upon the Eastern Chalukyas was made from the north-east of their kingdom of Veṅgī.” The inscription of the Gaṅga king Indravarman referred to by Fleet are dated in the 128th and 146th year of the Gaṅga era, which “seems to have commenced in A.D. 496” (Ep. Ind., XX, App., p. 201, n. 1 ; *Ind. Ant.*, LXI, pp. 237 f.). The above Gaṅga inscriptions were, therefore, issued in *circa* 624 and 642 A.D. Consequently, the Gaṅga king Indravarman was a contemporary of the Viṣṇukunḍin Indra- or Indrabhaṭṭāraka-varman (*circa* 625-655 A.D.).

¹ The word *adhirāj*, according to the Mahābhārata, means the same thing as *saṃrāj* and *cakravartin* (Śabdakalpādruma, s.v.). In later inscriptions however it is known to have denoted subordinate rulers. The Dhod inscription of Cāhamāna Pr̥thivīdeva mentions his feudatory *adhirāja* Kumārāpāla (Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 341).

As regards the possession of Veṅgī by the Eastern Cālukyas in the middle of the seventh century A.D., it may be said that there is no conclusive proof of that supposition. From the Aihole inscription (Ep. Ind., VI. 4 ff.), we learn that Pulakeśin II reduced the strong fortress of Piṣṭapura, which is the modern Piṭṭapuram (Piṭhāpuram) in the East Godavari District, near the sea-coast, about 80 miles to the north-east of Peddavegi; and he caused the leader of the Pallavas to shelter himself behind the ramparts of Kāñcī, modern Conjeeveram about 40 miles to the south-west of Madras. Fleet says: "Probably during the campaign which included the conquest of Piṭṭapuram and which must have taken place at this time (*A.D. 616 or 617), the Veṅgī country was made a part of the Chalukya dominions; and the reference to the Pallavas immediately after the mention of Piṣṭapura, has been understood as indicating that it was from their possession that Veṅgī was taken" (Ind. Ant., XX. 94f.). After the publication of the Viṣṇukunḍin copper-plate grants, however, the theory of the Pallava occupation of Veṅgī in the beginning of the 7th century A.D. may be tacitly given up. Since Lendulūra, for some time the residence (*vāsaka*) of a Viṣṇukunḍin king, has been undisputedly identified with Leṇḍalūru, a village on the ruins of the ancient city of Veṅgī, 5 miles north-east of Ellore in the West Godavari District, it is certain that the Veṅgī country passed from the hands of the Śālaṅkāyanas to the possession of the Viṣṇukunḍins.

It is interesting to notice a passage in the Aihole inscription dated in 634-35 A.D. (Ep. Ind., VI, *loc. cit.*) which describes Pulakeśin II's southern campaign. Verse 28 of that famous inscription speaks of a piece of water, which appears to contain some islands that were occupied by Pulakeśin's forces. This piece of water has been called the Kaunāla water or the water (or lake) of Kunāla. The position of this Kunāla is indicated by the sequence of events recorded in the inscription. Verse 26 tells us that Pulakeśin II subdued the Kaliṅgas and the Kośalas and then, according to the following verse, took the

fortress of Piṣṭapura. After that is recorded the occupation of Kunāla (verse 28); this again is followed, in the next verse, by Pulakeśin's victory over the Pallava king near Kāñcīpura. Verse 29 describes the Cālukya king as crossing the river Kāverī, after which is described his contact with the Colas, Keralas and the Pāṇḍyas (verse 31). Kielhorn seems therefore perfectly reasonable when he says (*ibid.*, pp. 2-3): "Pulakeśin's march of conquest therefore is from the north to the south, along the east coast of Southern India; and the localities mentioned follow each other in regular succession from the north to the south. This in my opinion shows that 'the water of Kunāla' can only be the well-known Kolleru lake, which is south of Piṭhāpuram, between the rivers Godāvarī and Kṛṣṇā. To that lake the description of 'the water of Kunāla' given in the poem would be applicable even at the present day; and we know from the inscriptions that the lake contained at least one fortified island, which more than once has been the object of attack." Since the ruins of Veṅḡ and Leṇḍalūru lie in the vicinity of the Kolleru lake there can now hardly be any doubt that the 'water of Kunāla' (*i. e.*, the Kolleru or Kollair lake) was, at the time of Pulakeśin II's invasion, in the possession of the Viṣṇukunḍins and that the battle of Kunāla was fought between the Cālukya king and a Viṣṇukunḍin monarch who was most probably either Mādhavavarman II or Vikramendravarman I, both of whom were weak successors of the great Mādhavavarman I.

The theory now generally accepted is that Veṅḡ was conquered by Pulakeśin II, during his campaign in the south-eastern region. There is, as I have already said, no conclusive evidence in support of this theory. In the records of the early Eastern Cālukya kings there is no reference to the occupation of Veṅḡ at all. The first use of the name of Veṅḡ is in the inscriptions of the time of Amma I (918-925 A.D.) which call Vijayāditya II (c. 794-842 A.D.) *veṅḡ-īśa*, and in the inscriptions of the time of Cālukya Bhīma II (934-945), which contain the first explicit statement that the territory over which Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana

and his successors ruled was the Veṅgī country (Ind. Ant., XX. 94). Both Amma I and Cālukya Bhīma II reigned in the tenth century A.D.; the evidence of their inscriptions as to the Cālukya occupation of Veṅgī in the 7th century can, therefore, be reasonably doubted. The fact seems to be that the Viṣṇukundins of Veṅgī, from the time of the Cālukya possession of Piṣṭapura, became weaker and weaker, and their country was gradually annexed to the waxing empire of the Eastern Cālukyas. The formal annexation which took place possibly after the extinction of the Viṣṇukundins (somewhere in the 8th cent. A.D.?) seems to have been completed long before the tenth century A.D., *i. e.*, the time of Amma I and Cālukya Bhīma II, when the Eastern Cālukyas claimed that they were master of the Veṅgī country from the very beginning of their history. There appears therefore no strong grounds against our theory that the Viṣṇukundins, though shorn of their past glory, were ruling at Veṅgī, contemporaneously with the Eastern Cālukyas, who were ruling first probably from Piṣṭapura,¹ next from Veṅgī² and then from Rājamahendrī.³ ”

¹ It is to be noted that the Timmapuram grant of Viṣṇuvardhana I Viṣamasiddhi was issued from the *vāsaka* (literally, *residence*) of Piṣṭapura (modern Piṭhāpuram in the Godavari Dist.). We have suggested above that possibly the term *vāsaka*, like the term *skandhāvāra* signify temporary (or sometimes secondary) capital of a king. It is well-known that Pulakeśin II crushed the power of the king of Piṣṭapura (*pistam piṣṭapuram yena*) and established his brother Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana on the throne of that place. At the time of Viṣṇuvardhana, therefore Piṣṭapura could reasonably be looked upon as his *vāsaka* or *skandhāvāra* of this king.

² The Veṅgīśa (lord of Veṅgī) antagonists of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas appear to be the Eastern Cālukya kings (see also Bomb. Gaz. I, Pt. II, p. 199). The earliest reference to a king of Veṅgī in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa records appears to be that in an inscription dated 770 A.D. (Ep. Ind., VI, 209). The Eastern Cālukyas therefore seem to have occupied Veṅgī before the 9th century A.D. possibly about the second half of the 8th century, the time of Vijayāditya II and his father.

³ According to Sewell (Ind. Ant., XX, p. 94, note 6) there are two traditions regarding the origin of the name of Rājamahendrī (modern Rajahmundry) or Rājamahendrapura. The first of these traditions connects the name with Mahendradeva, son of Gautamadeva, a supposed early king of Orissa, while the second connects it with a Cālukya king named “Vijayāditya Mahendra.” This Vijayāditya Mahendra is apparently the Eastern Cālukya king Amma II (A.D. 945-970) who had the epithet Rājamahendra and the surname

We have to notice two other points before we conclude this section. Smith in his *Early History of India*, 4th ed., p. 441, says : " In the east he (scil. Pulakeśin II) made himself master of Veṅgi, between the Krishnā and the Godāvarī, and established his brother Kubja Vishnuvardhana there as Viceroy in A.D. 611, with his capital at the stronghold of Pishtapura, now Pithāpuram in the Godāvarī District." Smith, here, professes to rely on the Kopparam plates of Pulakeśin II, edited by Lakshmana Rao in *Ann. Bhand. Or. Res. Inst.*, IV. 43 ff. These plates, which are full of textual mistakes, seem to record the grant of some lands in Karmarāṣṭra (northern part of Nellore and southern part of Guntur) by one Pr̥thivī-Duvarāja in the presence of Pulakeśin II. The grant is dated in the *pravardhamāna-vijayarāja-saṃvatsara* 21. Hultzsch while editing these plates in *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, has shown that the inscription belongs to the 21st regnal year of Pulakeśin II, i.e., to about A.D. 629-30 and that Pr̥thivī-Duvarāja is to be identified with his younger brother Kubja-Viṣṇuwardhana, who is styled Pr̥thivīvallabha-Viṣṇuwardhana-Yuvarāja in the Satara grant (*Ind. Ant.*, XIX. 309). The word *duvarāja* is a Dravidian *tadbhava* of Sanskrit *yuvarāja*. (Cf. *Akalaṅkat-tuvarāyar* = Sanskrit *Akalaṅka-yuvarāja* in the Amber inscr., *Ep. Ind.*, IV. 180, and *Tuvarāśan* = *yuvarāja* in the Kasukudi inscr., *S.I.I.*, II, No. 73).¹ Lakshmana Rao, however, thinks that Duvarāja of this inscription is to be identified with Dhruvarāja of the Goa plates, and that the year 21 of his reign falls in A.D. 611.

Vijayāditya VI (*ibid.*, p. 270). Fleet (*ibid.*, pp. 93-4), however, takes the founder of, or the first Eastern Cālukya king at, Rājamahendrapuram to be Amma I (918-925 A.D.), who no doubt had the epithet Rājamahendra, but whose surname was Viṣṇuwardhana (VI) and not Vijayāditya.

¹ It is also interesting to note in this connection the name of the third king of the Cālukya line of Kalyāṇi. In many of the inscriptions it is given as Daśavarman, but it is also written (e.g., in the Kauthem grant, *Ind. Ant.*, XVI, p. 15) as Yaśovarman. Fleet while noticing the point remarked, " The reason for the variation there is not apparent " (*Bomb. Gaz.* I, Pt. II, p. 434). It seems to me that Daśavarman is an emended form of Daśovarman which is but the same as Yaśovarman.

But even if we accept 611 A.D. to be the date when Pulakeśin II invaded Karmarāṣṭra and defeated the Viṣṇukundin king, does it follow that Pulakeśin II conquered the whole of the kingdom of the Viṣṇukundins ? Does the defeat of a king always lead to the loss of his entire territory ? Pulakeśin II is known to have defeated the Pallava king, penetrated through the whole of the Pallava territory and crossed the Kāverī ; but was the Pallava power weakened ? Again, in 642 A.D., the Pallava king Narasimhavarman defeated and killed Pulakeśin II and took Vātāpi, the Cālukya capital ; but did the Cālukya power permanently collapse ? Did not the power of the Cālukyas exist even during the period of the Rāṣtrakūṭa usurpation ? ¹

Then again according to Bilhaṇa (Vikramāṅkadevacarita, Intro., p. 44 ; Ind. Ant., V. 323) the Cālukya emperor Vikramāditya VI of Kalyāṇī marched on and occupied Kāñcī, the capital of the Colas (*i.e.*, the Eastern Cālukyas), and amused himself there for sometime before returning to his capital. "It is doubtless this campaign that led to there being so many inscriptions, referring themselves to the reign of Vikramāditya VI, at Drākshārama and other places in the Telugu country, outside the ordinary limits of the Western Chālukya kingdom." (Bomb. Gaz., I, Pt. II, p. 453, note 1.). But does this fact prove that Kāñcī and the Telugu country were permanently occupied by the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇī ? Temporary success like this is possibly also shown in the grant of two villages near Talakād the Gaṅga capital in Mysore by the Kadamba King Ravivarman (Ep. Ind., VIII, p. 146 ; Sewell, Hist. Ins. South Ind., s. v. c. A.D. 500 ; Moraes, *Kadambakula*, p. 48.)

To commemorate even the temporary occupation of part of a country, Indian kings appear to have used to grant, there, lands to Brahmans (see *Manusamhitā*, VII, verses 201-2), and generally, this sort of grants was acknowledged by other kings.

¹ Vide the Cālukya genealogy as given, *e.g.*, in the Kauthem grant (Ind. Ant., XVI, p. 15). See also Bomb. Gaz., I, Pt. II, pp. 380 ff.

It may, therefore, be not altogether impossible that Pulakeśin II penetrated as far as the Karmarāṣṭra, where the reigning Viṣṇukunḍin king was defeated, and the Cālukya king felt himself justified in granting lands in the district of which he thought himself to be the master for the time being at least.¹

If these suggestions be accepted, there is then no difficulty as regards the discovery of Cālukya grants, giving lands in places which were originally under the Viṣṇukunḍins. We however do not argue that all the Eastern Cālukya kings who granted lands in the country once occupied by the Viṣṇukunḍins were temporary possessors of the land. It seems reasonable to believe that the Viṣṇukunḍin country gradually, not long after the time of Pulakeśin II, merged into the Eastern Cālukya empire and gradually the Viṣṇukunḍins lost all their territories excepting the small district round their capital city of Veṅgī. The existence of Viṣṇukunḍin rule at Veṅgī in the 7th century may be compared with that of the Kadamba rule at Vaijayantī even in the glorious age of the early Cālukyas of Bādāmi.

The next point is regarding the find-spot of the Ramatirtham plates of the Viṣṇukunḍin king Indravarman. The plates were found at a place near Vizianagram in the Vizagapatam District of the Madras Presidency. They record the grant of a village in the Pḷakirāṣṭra, which was evidently situated in the Vizagapatam District (Anc. Hist., Dec., p. 91). On the evidence of the find of these plates, it may be suggested that the Vizianagram region was included in the Viṣṇukunḍin kingdom, that is to say, the Viṣṇukunḍin boundary extended as far

¹ It is also possible that at the time of Pulakeśin II's expedition, the Karmarāṣṭra was occupied not by the Viṣṇukunḍins (but by a branch of the Pallavas?). In A.D. 639 the celebrated Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang visited the kingdom of An-to-lo (i.e., Andhra), which was a small district only 3,000 li (about 4 500 miles) in circuit. The capital was at Ping-ki-lo, which seems to be a mistake for Ping-ki-pu-lo, i.e., Veṅgīpura. The southern part of the Andhra country formed a separate kingdom called To-na-kie-tse-kia (Dhānya-kāṭaka ?) or Ta-An-to-lo (Mahāudhra) with its capital possibly at Bezvada, where the pilgrim resided for "many months." At the time of Yuan Chwang's visit the Eastern Cālukyas possibly ruled the kingdom of Kie-ling-kia (i.e., Kāliṅga) which was 5,000 li in circuit. See Cunningham, *Anc. Geog. Ind.*, ed. 1924, pp. 590 ff., 603 ff., 647 and 736 f.

as the borders of the Ganjam District.¹ In view of the fact that there was the royal house of Piṣṭapura, the houses of the Varmans of Kaliṅga and also of the Gaṅgas whose era probably started from 496 A.D., permanent Viṣṇukuṇḍin occupation of the Vizianagram region seems to me highly improbable. The truth might have been that in retaliation to the raids of Pulakeśin II and Jayasimha I, Indravarman Viṣṇukuṇḍin invaded the Cālukya country and penetrated as far as the Pḷakirāṣṭra, where he made grants of land, as did Pulakeśin II in the Karmarāṣṭra, Jayasimha I in Guddavādi and Gudrahāra, and Vikramāditya VI in the Telugu country. The Pḷakirāṣṭra or Vizagapatam District seems to have been under the Eastern Cālukyas as early as the 18th year of Viṣṇuvardhana I. His Chipurupalle plates (Ind. Ant., XX, p. 15) dated in that year, were found in the Vizagapatam District. They evidently refer to the Pḷakiviṣaya, doubtfully read as Pūkiviṣaya by Burnell and Fleet. This Pḷakiviṣaya is evidently the same as the Pḷakirāṣṭra of the Ramatirtham plates of Indravarman.

We have seen that the Godavari grant of Pṛthivīmūla refers to a coalition of kings against Indrabhaṭṭarakavarman, who has been identified with the Viṣṇukuṇḍin king of that name. It seems to me that when Indravarman Viṣṇukuṇḍin defeated the Eastern Cālukya forces and penetrated far into their country, Jayasimha I, who seems to have been the Eastern Cālukya contemporary of Indravarman, formed an alliance with several other kings, one of whom was Adhirāja Indra, identified by Fleet with the Gaṅga king Indravarman. The combined forces of these allied kings possibly defeated the Viṣṇukuṇḍin king and compelled him to return and shelter himself behind the ramparts of his capital, the city of Veṅgī.

¹ Kielhorn entered the Chikkulla grant of Viṣṇukuṇḍin Vikramendravarman II in his List of North Indian Inscriptions (Ep. Ind., V, App., No. 637). Following Kielhorn, Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar has also entered the Viṣṇukuṇḍin inscriptions in his List of N. Ind. Inserr. (Ep. Ind., XX-I, App., Nos. 1117 and 2026-99). The Śālaḥkāyana and Viṣṇukuṇḍin records must properly be entered into a List of South Indian Inscriptions, as these were local dynasties ruling over the Andhra country in the South.

3. *Vikramahendra (Vikramendra I?) and Govindavarman Vikramāśraya.*

As we have already noticed, king Vikramahendra is mentioned only in the Polamuru grant of his grandson Mādhavarman I. He is there described as a devotee of Lord Śrīparvata-svāmin and is said to have subdued the feudatory chiefs by his own valour. The Lord Śrīparvata-svāmī is referred to in all the inscriptions of the Viṣṇukunḍin family and may, therefore, be taken to have been the family-deity of the Viṣṇukunḍins. Śrīparvata may be identified with Śrīśaila in the Kurnool District of the Madras Presidency.¹ The original home of the Viṣṇukunḍin family may, therefore, be supposed to have lain not very far from the Śrīśaila. Kielhorn (Ep. Ind., IV, 193) suggested a connection of the name of the family with that of the hill-fort and town of Vinukonda in the Kistna District, about 60 miles east of the Śrīśaila and 50 miles south of the Krishna river. Vinukonda, according to Kielhorn, was possibly the early home of the Viṣṇukunḍins.

The son and successor of Vikramahendra was Govindavarman. His surname Vikramāśraya and the epithet *aneka-samara-saṃghaṭṭa-vijayin* possibly show that he was a king of considerable importance. He is said to have been obeyed by all the feudatory chiefs.

4. *Mādhavavarman I Janāśraya.*

Mādhavavarman I Janāśraya appears to have been the greatest of the Viṣṇukunḍin kings. The performance of 11

¹ Excepting the grant of Mādhavavarman II, which applies the epithet *bhagachrīparvatasvāmi-pādānudhyāta* to the name of the issuer himself, all other Viṣṇukunḍin records apply the epithet to the first king (a predecessor of the issuer) with whose name the genealogical part of the inscriptions begins. In the records therefore king Vikramendrarman I and his son and grandson are not themselves called "devotee of Lord Śrīparvata-svāmin." Many Western Calukya grants have been found in the Kurnool Dist., which region appears to have passed to the Western Calukyas before the middle of the 7th century.

aśvamedhas, 1,000 *agniśtomas* and some other rites including the *Hiranyagarbha* prove that he was a prince of power and resources. In very early times the *aśvamedha* was evidently performed by kings desirous of offspring (see Apte, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s.v. *aśva*). According to the *Rāmāyaṇa* (I, viii, 2), king Daśaratha performed this sacrifice for progeny (*sut-ārthā vājimedhena kim=artham na yajāmy=aham*). Kings are also known to have performed *aśvamedha* for purifying themselves from sin. According to *Viṣṇu*, *aśvamedhena śudhyanti mahā-pātakinas=tr=imc* (*Śabdakalpadrūma-pariśiṣṭa*, s.v. *aśvamedha*). Rāma in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (VII, 81) and Yudhiṣṭhira in the *Mahābhārata* (XIV, iii) are said to have performed the horse-sacrifice with a view to purifying themselves. But as we have noticed above (pp. 14-15), it was performed only by a king who was a conqueror and a king of kings. Keith has rightly pointed out that the *Aśvamedha* "is an old and famous rite, which kings alone can bring to increase their realms" (*Rel. Phil. Ved. Up.*, p. 343). The *Baudh. Śr. Sū.* (XV, 1) says that a king victorious and of all the land should perform this sacrifice. According to the *Tait. Br.* (III, 8, 9, 4), "he is poured aside who being weak offers the *Aśvamedha*," and again (V, 4, 12, 3), "it is essentially like the fire-offering, an *Utsanna-Yajña*, a sacrifice of great extent and elaboration." See Keith, *Black Yajus*, pp. cxxxii-iv. According to *Āpastamba* (XX, 1, 1 quoted in the *Śabdakalpadrūma-pariśiṣṭa*, Hitabadi Office, Calcutta), *rājā sārva-bhaumah aśvamedhena yajeta n=āpy=asārva-bhaumah*.¹ A feudatory ruler therefore could not perform the *aśvamedha*.²

¹ In place of *nāpi* there is an alternate reading *api*, which is a later interpolation according to Keith (*Black Yajus*, p. cxxxii), but which means to say that *asārva-bhauma* (not master of all the land) kings could also perform the *Aśvamedha*. The word *asārva-bhauma* however never means a feudatory chieftain. This reading only shows that in later times kings who were powerful but who did not claim to be ruler of the Earth (i.e., whole or major part of India) did also perform the *Aśvamedha*.

² In a note in *Ind. Cult.*, I, pp. 114-5, it has been suggested that since Mādhavarāman I Viṣṇukūṇḍin and Pravarasena I Vākāṭaka have been called *Mahārāja* in their inscriptions, they are to be taken as petty chiefs even though they performed the *Aśvamedha*. In support of this theory Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar says that "even a feudatory chieftain can

A point of great interest, however, is that Mādhavavarman I claims to have performed as many as ELEVEN *āśvamedhas*, while successful conquerors like Samudragupta and Puṣyamitra are known to have performed only one or two *āśvamedhas*. Of course from the description of the sacrifice given in the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, it appears that some *āśvamedhic* practices of the Vedic age were slightly modified in the epic period; but it is impossible to think that it became so easy as to be performed by even a king of the feudatory rank. It must be noticed that some Vedic kings are known to have performed a

perform a Horse-sacrifice " (*ib.*, p. 115), and that the *Āśvamedha* " may or may not be preceded by a *dig-vijaya* " (p. 116). The professor has no doubt that the Vākātakas were subordinate chieftains (p. 116). These theories however, are not only against the evidence of the Śrūti literature, but go also against the evidence of the inscriptions of these kings. In inscriptions Pravarasena I has been called *samrāt*, which never signifies a subordinate chieftain. Cf. *samrāt* (jo) *rākāṭakānām mahārāja-sri-pravarasenasya* of the Balaghat plates, *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 270, l. 4, n. 4; also *C.I. I*, III, p. 235). That Mādhavavarman I was not incapable of a *digvijaya* is proved by a reference to his eastern expedition in the Polamura grant. Moreover, an essential feature of the *Āśvamedha*, beside the actual slaying of the horse, is that about the end of the performance, at the bidding of the Adhvaryu " a lute-player (*ciṇā-gāthīn*), a Rājanya, sings to the lute three Gāthās, verses, made by himself which refer to the victories in battle connected with the sacrifice " (Keith, *Relig. Philos. Ved. Upaniṣ*, p. 314). Further, " As revealed in the later texts the sacrifice is essentially one of princely greatness. The steed for a year roams under guardianship of a hundred princes, a hundred nobles with swords, a hundred sons of heralds and charioteers bearing quivers and arrows and a hundred sons of attendants and charioteers bearing staves " (*Sat. Br.*, XIII, 4. 2. 5; *Baudh. Śrautasūtra*, XV, 1). See Keith, *Black Yajus*, *loc. cit.* To manage these requirements is simply impossible for a subordinate chief. Moreover, that the progress of the *Āśvamedha* was sometimes impeded when other kings challenged one's authority to perform the sacrifice, is not only proved from the two cases referred to in *Sat. Br.* (XIII, 5. 4, 21-22), and those in the *Mahābhārata* (XIV, 74-81), but is also proved from an instance recorded in the Udayendiram grant (No. 2), *Ind. Ant.*, VIII, p. 273. Udayacandra, general of Nandivarman-Pallavamalla, is there reported to have defeated the Niṣāda king, Pṛthivivṛyāghra who was accompanying the *Āśvamedha-turaṅgama*, i.e., horse let loose in connection with a horse-sacrifice. Quarrels with neighbouring kings in connection with the sacrifices of Puṣyamitra are distinctly referred to in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, Act V. It is stated that Puṣyamitra's sacrificial horse was let loose to roam for a year at its own will under the guardianship of his grandson Vasumitra who was attended by a hundred princes and when the horse's perchance reached the southern bank of the Sindhu and was captured by the Yavana horsemen, brought it back after defeating the Yavanas. *Mahārājādhirāja* based on *rājātirāja*, etc. of the Scytho-Kuşans was, in early times, not very often used in South India. See my note on *Āśvamedha* in *Ind. Cult.*, I, pp. 311 ff.

great number of *aśvamedhas*. Thus Bharata, son of Duṣyanta, according to a *gāthā* quoted in the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa (XIII, iii, 5.11 ; Weber's edition, p. 994), performed as many as one hundred and thirty-three horse-sacrifices on the banks of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā (*aṣṭāsaptatiṃ bharato dauṣyantir = yamunām = anu gaṅgāyām vṛtraghne = 'badhnāt pañcapañcāś-ataṃ hayān = iti*). According to another *gāthā* (*loc. cit.*, 13), Bharata performed more than a thousand *aśvamedhas* after conquering the whole earth (*paraḥsahasrān = indrāy = āśvamedhān = ya = āharad = vijitya pṛthivīm sarvām = iti*). The epics however knew of traditions regarding some early kings trying to perform hundred *aśvamedhas*, which would lead the performer to the attainment of the seat of Indra who is therefore represented as trying to prevent the hundredth sacrifice (Apte, *loc. cit.*). May it be that the Vedic *aśvamedha* was less pompous than the epic *aśvamedha* and that *aśvamedhas* performed by South Indian kings were of the Vedic type ? We have seen above (p. 73) that the Deccan performs Vedic rites more fanatically than Northern India. See also my views in *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, XIII, p. 40

Mādhavavarman I married a girl of the Vākāṭaka family of Northern Deccan, and thus made his power secure in that direction.¹ According to V. A. Smith (J.R.A.S., 1914, p. 137) the Vākāṭaka father-in-law of Mādhavavarman I Viṣṇukunḍin was king Hariṣena who claims to have conquered the Andhra and the Kalinga countries. It is also believed that Mādhavavarman succeeded in getting the possession of the Veṅḡ country by virtue of this Vākāṭaka alliance (Sewell, *Hist. Ins. South. Ind.*, s.v. A.D. 500). This suggestion is however untenable in view of the fact that Mādhavavarman I, though he was the greatest king, was not the first king of his dynasty, he being at least preceded by his

1. Dr. D. C. Ganguly writes in *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, VIII, 26 : " Mādhavavarman I was the founder of this dynasty. His mother was a princess of the Vākāṭaka family." According to the Chikkulla plates (Ep. Ind., IV, 193), however, the Vākāṭaka princess was the mother of Vikramendravarman I, son of Mādhavavarman I. Cf. *Viṣṇukunḍi-vākāṭa-vaṃśa-dvay-ālaṃkāṛa-janmānaḥ śrī-vikramendravarmanāḥ* etc. As we have shown, Mādhavavarman I was not the founder or the first king of the Viṣṇukunḍin dynasty.

father Govindavarman and grandfather Vikramahendra. The Polamuru grant calls him *daśa-śata-sakala-dharaṇī-tala-narapati* and credits him with an expedition for the conquest of the eastern region.

It must be noticed in this connection that, in the Haraha inscription dated A.D. 554, the Maukhari king Īśānavarman claims victory over an *Andhr-ādhipati*. There can hardly be any doubt that this *Andhr-ādhipati* was a Viṣṇukunḍin king. Dr. Raychaudhuri (Pol. Hist. Anc. Ind., 2nd ed., 370) has taken this Andhra king to be Mādhavavarman of the Polamuru plates who according to this grant "crossed the river Godavari with a desire to conquer the eastern region." This identification suits well the chronology we have accepted in these pages. It may not be impossible that the eastern expedition of Mādhavavarman I was undertaken in retaliation to his previous unsuccessful struggle with the Maukharis. This supposition is supported by the fact that a victory over the Andhras is alluded to in the Jaunpur inscription of Īśvaravarman, father of Īśānavarman Maukhari (Corp. Ins. Ind., III, p. 230).

In the Polamuru grant, Mādhavavarman I has been called *avasita-vividha-divya* (line 8). This passage has been left out in the translation of Mr. Subba Rao who has edited the inscription in *Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, VI, 17 ff. The passage, however, appears to me very important in connection with the administration of justice in the Andhra country at the time of the Viṣṇukunḍins. Here is a clear evidence of the prevalence of the system of trial by ordeals in the Viṣṇukunḍin kingdom. The word *divya*, here, certainly means "ordeal" and *vividha-divya* "various (forms of) ordeals." The verb *ava-so* has, among others, the meanings, "to accomplish," "to know" and "to destroy." The passage *avasita-vividha-divya* may, therefore, mean one "who has accomplished the various (forms of) ordeals," or "who knows (how to use) the various (forms of) ordeals," or "who has destroyed (*i.e.*, abolished) the various (forms of) ordeals." We have seen that this Mādhavavarman I Viṣṇukunḍin

performed eleven *āśvamedhas* and a thousand *agnīṣṭomas* (*kratus*). It must be noticed in this connection that no one except a fanatic can be expected to perform an *āśvamedha* sacrifice and expose his wives to such indecent and obnoxious practices as are necessary in the performance of this sacrifice. As for instance the *mahiṣī* of the performer of the *āśvamedha* is required to lie down beside the sacrificial horse and to put the horse's penis into her own private parts (cf. *mahiṣī svayam = ev = āśva-śiśnam = ākr̥ṣya sva-yonau sthāpayati*—Mahidhara on *Sukla-yajus*, XXIII, 18-25; and *āśvasya śiśnam mahiṣy = npasthe nidhatte*—Śatapathabrāhmaṇa, XIII, iv, 2). Mādhavavarman I, performer of eleven *āśvamedhas* thus appears to have been one of the most orthodox Hindu kings of ancient India. It is, therefore, doubtful whether we can expect from him such a great reform as the abolition of the deep-rooted system of trial by ordeals, which is sanctioned by ancient law-givers and which was in use in our country as late as the end of the 18th century and possibly still later.¹ The last meaning is, therefore, less probable. The *divyas* or ordeals, which were used in ancient Indian courts in order to ascertain the truth of a statement, has been enumerated as nine in the *Divyatatva* of Br̥haspati. They were ordeal (1) by balance, (2) by fire, (3) by water, (4) by poison, (5) by "image-washed" water, (6) by rice, (7) by the hot *māṣaka*, (8) by spear-head, and (9) by images.

(Cf.

dhato = 'gnir = udakañ = c = aiva viṣam kośaś = ca pañcamam
 ṣaṣthañ = ca taṇḍulāḥ proktaṁ saptaṁ tapta-māṣakam
 aṣṭam phālam = ity = uktaṁ navamam dharmajam smṛtam.

¹ J.A.H.R.S., VII, 195ff. Trial by ordeals is used to settle disputes among some aboriginal tribes of the Andhra region even at the present day. Mr. G. T. H. Bracken, Chief Secretary to the Madras Government, in course of his address on "Wilder Parts of India" to the Rotary Club on March 9, 1934, said, "In disputes over land the custom (* in the East Godavari Agency) is to make the parties to the dispute walk round the land, and he who walks the whole way round continually and eats some of the earth is declared to be the owner." From Report in the *A. B. Patrika*, Calcutta.

For details see my paper on the *Divyas* in *Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, VII, pp. 195 ff.)

In both the Ipur and the Polamuru plates the king has been said to be the delighter of the damsels residing in the houses of Trivaranagara. Trivara-nagara appears to mean "the city of King Trivara." A king named Trivara has been mentioned in the Kondedda grant (Ep. Ind., XIX, p. 267) of the Sailodbhava king Dharmarāja, as having formed an alliance with a certain king named Mādhava and fought against Dharmarāja. It is possible that king Trivara of the Kondedda inscription is the same as that mentioned in the grants of Mādhavavarman I Viṣṇukunḍin. Mādhavavarman I however does not appear to have lived in the time of Sailodbhava Dharmarāja and therefore can hardly be identical with the Mādhava who fought against the Sailodbhava monarch. A king named Tivara is found in the line of the Pāṇḍavas of Kośala, who had their capital at Śrīpura (see the Rajim and Baloda grants, Corp. Ins. Ind., III, p. 291 ff.; Ep. Ind., VII, 10 ff.). The charters and seals of Mahāśiva Tivara-rāja of Śrīpura are in the box-headed character. According to some scholars, the box-headed characters were in use between the 5th and 6th centuries of the Christian era (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, IX, p. 596). Fleet and Kielhorn, however, think that the inscriptions of Tivara of Kośala are not earlier than 700 A.D. (*Indische Palaeographie*, p. 63, note 20). According to Bühler (*ibid*, p. 62), the Central Indian or "box-headed" type is found fully developed "in einer Inschrift Samudragupta's aus Eran und einer Chandragupta's II. aus Udayagiri, den kupfertafeln der Könige von Sarabhapura, den Inschriften der Vākāṭaka, der des Tivara von Kośala und in zwei frühen Kadamba-Inschriften." The Gupta, Vākāṭaka and Kadamba records are definitely known to be earlier than 700 A.D. The same may be the case with the inscriptions of Tivara of Kośala. It must be noticed in this connection that Fleet's and Kielhorn's view that Vākāṭaka records date from the 7th century A.D. (*ibid*, note 19) has now been conclusively disproved.

The performance of Vedic sacrifices and the epithet *parama-brahmaṇya* (highly hospitable to the Brahmans) clearly show that Mādhavavarman I was a staunch follower of the Brahmanical faith.

I. The Ipur plates (set I) were issued in the 37th year of the king, possibly from the camp of Kuḍavāḍa (*viṣaya-skandhavārāt kuḍavāḍa-vāsakāt*). They record a notice to the inhabitants of Vilembali in the Guddādi viṣaya. The village was granted by the king to a Brahman named Agniśarman belonging to the Vatsa gotra, and all royal officers were ordered to protect it and make it immune from taxation. The executor of the grant was the king's beloved son, Prince Mañcaṇṇa. The village of Vilembali and the Guddādi viṣaya have not been satisfactorily identified.

The seal of king Mādhavavarman I attached to the plates is circular and somewhat worn. It is divided by a cross-line into two sections. The lower section bears in relief Śrī-Mādhavavarmā in two lines. Hultzsch thought that the upper section bears the figure of Lakṣmī or *svastika* on a pedestal, flanked by two lamp-stands and possibly surmounted by the sun and the crescent of the moon (Ep. Ind., XVII, 334). As on the seals attached to the Chikkulla and the Ramatirtham plates, the figure of a lion is clearly visible, it may not be impossible that the obliterated part above the line contained the figure of a lion which was possibly the crest of the Viṣṇukunḍins.

II. The Polamuru grant was issued by the king when he set out on the eastern expedition and was crossing the Godavari. By it the *mahattaras* and the *adhikāra-pūruṣas* were informed that the king made an *agrahāra* of the village of Pulobūru on the Dalīyavāvi river and of four *nivartanas* of land at the southern extremity of Mayindavātakī, and granted it to the Gautama gotra Brahman Śivaśarman resident of Kunṛūra in Karmarāṣṭra. As Polamuru (Pulobūru of the inscription) is a village in the Ramchandrapur taluka of the East Godavari District, the present taluka may be roughly identified with the Guddavādi viṣaya

in which the village is said to have been situated. As we have already seen, the village of Polamuru was re-granted to the recipient's son by the Eastern Cālukya king Jayasimha I who probably conquered the region from the Viṣṇukunḍins.

In the Sanskrit Lexicon Trikāṇḍaśeṣa, *mahattara* has been called the same as *grāma-kūṭa*, "the head of a village." Cf. *rāṣṭra-kūṭa* "head of a *rāṣṭra*," an official designation in the Cālukya inscriptions. Evidently, affairs in villages were controlled by them. The word *adhikāra-puruṣa* appears to mean "a *puruṣa* (agent) having an *adhikāra* (a post)," i.e., a government official. (Cf. *na nīsprayojanam = adhikāravantaḥ prabhubhīr = āhūyante*, *Mudrā-rākṣasa*, Act III). The mention of the *mahattaras* along with "government officials" possibly shows that the former were not salaried officers of the government. The executors of the grant were the Hastikośa and the Vīrakośa, which terms have already been discussed.

"It is believed that the seal (* of the Polamuru plates) contains the figure of a lion, the crest of the Viṣṇukunḍins, and probably also the name of the royal donor" (Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc., VI, 17).

5. Mādhavavarman II.

Mādhavavarman II was the son of Devavarman and grandson of Mādhavavarman I. Only one copper-plate grant of this king has been discovered. It was found at Ipur, a village in the Tenali taluka of the Guntur District. The grant was possibly issued in the 17th year of the king, from Amarapura which may possibly be identified with the modern Amarāvati.

Mādhavavarman II has been described in this inscription as *trikūṭa-malay-ādhipati*, "lord of Trikāṭa and Malaya." We do not know of any other Malaya except the famous Malaya mountain, generally identified with the southernmost part of the Western Ghats. Trikāṭa, mentioned together with Malaya, may possibly be the same as Tripārvata, where a branch of the

Kadamba family ruled. It can hardly have any connection with the Trikūṭa placed by Kālidāsa (Raghu, IV, 58-59), in the Aparānta, *i.e.* Northern Konkan. It is, however, difficult at the present state of our knowledge to justify Mādhavavarman II's claim to be in possession of those two localities.

The plates record the grant of a village, the name of which seems to be Murotukalikī, to two Brahmins named Agniśarman and Indraśarman.

The seal of Mādhavavarman II attached to the Ipur plates (set II) is circular and much worn. It is divided by a cross-line into two sections like the seal of his grand-father. In the lower section the legend Śrī-Mādhava (-varmanā) in two lines is very faintly visible, while the symbols in the upper section cannot be made out at all (Ep. Ind., XVII, 338).

6. *Vikramendravarman I (II?).*

The next king appears to have been Vikramendravarman I, son of Mādhavavarman I. No inscription of this king has been discovered. The most interesting point about this king is that, in the Chikkulla plates of his grandson, he is called *Viṣṇukunḍi-rākāṭa-varṣādevay-ālamkṛta-janmā*. Vākāṭa is evidently the same as Vākāṭaka, which was the most glorious dynasty ruling in Northern Deccan in the 5th century of the Christian Era. The relation of Vikramendravarman I with the Vākāṭakas is also referred to in the Ramatirtham plates of his son, where he is called *ubhaya-varṣ-ālamkārabhūta* (who is the ornament of both the dynasties).

“The Vākāṭakas were the neighbours of the Kadambas and the Vākāṭaka kingdom extended up to the modern town of Kurnool on the banks of the Kṛishṇā. We know that the famous temple of Śrīśailam or Śrī-parvata is in the Kurnool district, and ‘a story, as related in the Sthala-Māhātmya of the place, says that the princess Chandravatī, a daughter of the Gupta king Chandragupta, conceived a passion for the God on the Śrīśaila

hill and began offering every day a garland of jasmine (*mallikā*) flowers to him" (Report on Epigraphy for 1914-1915, Part II, 91).

"In fact, we shall see that this dynasty (*scil.* that of the Viṣṇukunḍins) had for its tutelary deity the God of Śrī-Parvata and that the first (?) king of this dynasty Mādhavavarman married a Viṣṇukunḍin (? Vākāṭaka) princess. I think there can be no doubt that this princess was the daughter or grand-daughter of queen Prabhāvatī," the daughter of king Chandragupta II and wife of the Vākāṭaka king Rudrasena. (See Dubreuil, *Anc. Hist. Dec.*, 73-74.) According to Vincent Smith (*J.R.A.S.*, 1914, p. 137) the mother of Viṣṇukunḍin Vikramendravarman I was the daughter of the Vākāṭaka king Hariṣena, who claimed to have conquered the countries of Andhra and Kalinga.

7. *Indravarman.*

The son and successor of Vikramendravarman I was Indravarman, to whom belong the plates discovered at a place called Ramatirtham in the vicinity of Vizianagram. The king has been described as *parama-māheśvara* (staunch devotee of Maheśvara, *i.e.*, Śiva) and *aneka-caturddanta-samara-śata-sahasra-saṃghaṭṭa-vijayī*. The significance of the latter epithet may be understood from what has been already discussed above. It refers to the king's struggle with his eastern or north-eastern neighbours.

The Ramatirtham plates (*Ep. Ind.*, XII, 133) which were issued from the Puraṇisaṅgamavāsaka (which possibly means the camp at Puraṇisaṅgama) in the 27th year of the king Indravarman record the grant of the village of Peruvāṭaka in the Pḷakirāṣṭra as an *agrahāra* to a *taittirīyaka* Brahman named Nagnaśarman who belonged to the Māṇḍira gotra.

The *agrahāra* was exempted from the burden of all taxes, and the peasants assembled at Peruvāṭaka were ordered to give

to the Brahman the customary share of the produce of the *agrahāra* and to perform regularly all duties, such as conveying message, etc. The future owners of the country are also requested not to confiscate but to protect the *agrahāra*. The king himself was the executor of the grant. The nature of the grant appears to support our view that king Indravarman granted the *agrahāra*, while leading an expedition against his eastern enemies. Pḷakirāṣṭra, as we have already noticed, is the present Vizianagram region. It is mentioned as Pḷakiviṣaya and Paḷakiviṣaya in the inscriptions of Cālukya Viṣṇuvardhana I (Ep. Ind., IX, 317).

The seal attached to the Ramatirtham plates shows the faint figure of an advancing lion facing the proper right, with its left forepaw raised, neck erect, mouth wide open, and the tail raised above the back and ended in a loop.

8. *Vikramendravarman II (III?)*.

King Indravarman was succeeded by his eldest son, Vikramendravarman II. A copper-plate grant (Ep. Ind., IV, 193) of this king was discovered at Chikkulla in the Tuni subdivision of the Godavari District. It was issued from the Lendulūravāsaka which has been identified by Ramayya with modern Dendalūru near Ellore.

King Vikramendravarman II, who was a *parama-māheśvara* like his father, hereby dedicated a village called Regonṛana to Somagireśvaranātha in honour of the matted-haired, three-eyed God, the Lord of the three worlds. Somagireśvaranātha appears to be the name applied to a *liṅga* established in a temple at Lendulūra.

The village of Regonṛana is said to have been situated to the south of the village of Rāvireva on the bank of the Kṛṣṇavennā (Krishna) in Natṛpaṭi which appears to be the name of a district.

The seal of Vikramendravarman II attached to the Chikkulla plates "bears in relief on a slightly countersunk surface a well-

executed lion, which stands to the proper right, raises the right forepaw, opens the mouth and apparently has a double tail" (*loc. cit.*). It, however, seems to me that the tail of the lion is not double as Kielhorn takes it to be, but is only raised above the back so as to end in a loop.

APPENDIX C

1. Polamuru Plates of Mādhavavarman I.

The Polamuru plates of Mādhavavarman I were edited by R. Subba Rao in Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc., VI, pp. 17ff. But his reading does not seem to me quite accurate in all places. Mr. Subba Rao, moreover, did not notice the numerous mistakes in the composition of the inscription. His translation is also not satisfactory. The passage *Viṣṇukonḍinām* = *appratihata-sāsana* has been translated as "whose edicts pass unchallenged with the name of Vishṇukunḍi," *daśaśata-sakala-dharaṇī-tala-narapatir* = *avasita-vividha-divya* as "who subdued the kings of the whole earth of ten hundred villages," *parama-brahmaṇya* as "who is the best Brahman," *taittirīyakasabrahmachārī* as "who is the true Brahmachari of the Taittirika branch," etc., etc. It may also be pointed out that "Ll. 29-34" have been translated as "The executors of this grant are Hastikośa and Vīrakośa who are great warriors and whose duty it is to protect the grant." I fail to find any connection between "Ll. 29-34" and Mr. Subba Rao's translation.

My reading is based on the facsimile published along with Mr. Subba Rao's paper in Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc., VI.

TEXT

1st Plate : 2nd Side.

- L. 1. Svasti [||*] Bhagavat-¹śrīparvatasvāmi-pād-ānu-
dhyātasya Viṣṇuko[nḍinā]m = appra-
L. 2. tihata-śāsanasya sva-pratāp-opanata-sāmanta-
manujapati-maṇḍala [sya]
L. 3. I. virahita-ripu - ṣaḍ - vargasya vīdh-²īṃdupavitra-
trivargasya vibudha-pati-sā[ddhya?]-
L. 4. śara-vira³-vibhava-bala-parākramasyā⁴ śrī-Vikra-
mahendrasya sūno⁵ aneka-
L. 5. samara-[saṃ] ghaṭṭa-vijayina[h] para-narapati-
ma[ku]ṭa-maṇi-mayukh⁶-āvadāta-ca-
L. 6. [ra*]ṇa-yugaḷasya Vikramāśrayasya śrī-Govinda-
varmaṇaḥ priya-tanayaḥ⁷ atula-
L. 7. [ba*]ḷa - parā[kra]ṇa - yaśo - dāna-vinaya - sapa⁸-
[nno] daśa-śata-sakala-dharaṇīṭala-nara-

2nd Plate : 1st Side.

- L. 8. patir = avasi[ta-vi]vidha-divyas = Trivaranagara-
bhavana-gata-yuvati⁹-jana-vi-
L. 9. haraṇa-ratir = annanya¹⁰-nrpati-sūdhāraṇa - dāna-

¹ Read *Bhagavat-Chrī*.

² Read *vīdh-īṃdu*.

³ Read *sādhyā* and *vīra*. *Ddhyā* is not clear, and the idea seems to be awkwardly expressed.

⁴ Read °*sya*.

⁵ Read °*nor* = *anc*°.

⁶ Read °*yū*°.

⁷ Read °*yo* = °*tula*°.

⁸ Read *saṃpanno*.

⁹ Subba Rao reads *yuvati*.

¹⁰ Read °*r* = *ananya*°.

- māna-dayā-dama¹-dhṛti-
 L. 10. mati-kṣānti-kānti-śauriy²- audāryya-gābhīryya³-
 prabhṛty-aneka-guṇa-sampra-
 L. 11. j - janita - raya - samutthita - bhūmaṇḍala - vyāpi-
 vipula-yaśoh⁴ kratu-sā-
 L. 12. hasra - yājī Hiranyagarbha - prasūtaḥ⁵ ekādaś -
 Āśvamedh-āvabhṛtha-snāna-vi-
 L. 13. gata - jagad-enaskaḥ sarva - bhūta - parirakṣaṇa-
 cuñcuḥ⁶ vidva-dviya⁷-guru-vri⁸-
 L. 14. ddha-tapasvi-jan-āśrayo mahārājaḥ śrī-Mādhava-
 varmā[||*] Api ca niya⁹[m=au]-

2nd Plate : 2nd Side.

- L. 15. śanasam sattvam kaiśavam kā[nti] m = aindavīm¹⁰
 udvabann=urubhā[h] bhāti vikram-āda¹¹-
 L. 16. pta-bhūri-bhūh¹² apy=asau¹³ mahītala-nṛpati-
 bhāskaraha[||*] Parama-brahmaṇyo
 L. 17. mātā-pitru¹⁴-pād-ānudyātaḥ¹⁵ Janāśraya-mahā-
 rājaḥ¹⁶ Guddāvadi¹⁷-viśa-

¹ Subba Rao reads *dharma*.

² Read *śaury-audārya*.

³ Read *gāmbhīrya*.

⁴ Read *yaśāḥ*.

⁵ Omit *visarga*.

⁶ Subba Rao reads *cuñcuḥ*.

⁷ Read *vidvad-dvi*.

⁸ Read *vri*.

⁹ Read *nayam* =

¹⁰ Read *vīm=ud*.

¹¹ Read *urubhāt=bhāti vikram-āvāpta*—.

¹² Read *bhūr=apy=asau*.

¹³ Subba Rao reads *asyasau*.

¹⁴ Read *pitṛ*.

¹⁵ Read *dhyāto*.

¹⁶ Read *rājo*.

¹⁷ Read *Guddavādi*. A.R.S.I.E., 1914, p. 10, reads *Guddavāṭi*.

- L. 18. II. yye¹ viṣaya-mahāttarān² = adhikāra-puruṣāṃś =
ca³ imam = arttham = ā[jñā]pa-
L. 19. yaty = asti⁴ vidi[ta] m = astu vo yath = āsmābhi
[h]⁵ Guddavādi-vi[ṣa] ye Da[li]ya-
L. 20. vāvi-tīre Pulo[bū]ru-nāma-grāmaḥ⁶ Mayinda-
vāṭaki-dakṣiṇata-sī-
L. 21. mānte catu⁷-nivarttanañ = ca kṣetram yugapat
pra[ttam] prāg-di-jigīṣayā prasthi

3rd Plate : 1st Side.

- L. 22. taḥ Godāva[rī]m = atitaran⁸ veda-vedāṃga-
vido Rudraśa[rmma]no naptre⁹ sva-pitu-
L. 23. r = adhika-guṇ-ādhyasi-tanoḥ¹⁰ Dāmaśarmmaṇaḥ
putrāya Śivaśarmmaṇe Gauta-
L. 24. ma-sagotrāya Karmmarāstra-Kuṇṛūra-vāstavyāya
Taittirika¹¹-sabra[hma]cāriṇe
L. 25. veda - catuṣṭaya - samāmnāt-āvadūt-ānanāya sva-
karmm-anu-¹²
L. 26. śṭhāna-parāya phālguṇyām¹³ paurṇamasyā¹⁴ soma-
rāhu-sagraha-nimi[te]

Read *viṣaye*.

² Read *mahatta*°.

³ Subba Rao reads °*ṣaṃśca*. Read *ś = c = ema*°.

Asti is superfluous.

Read °*bhir* = *Gudda*°. See p. 120, note 17.

The third letter is not clear. A.R.S.I.E., 1914, p. 10, reads the name as *Pulimbūru*.
the grant of Jayasirpha I the name is Pulobūpra. Read °*grāmo* = *Mayi*°.

⁷ Read *dakṣiṇasimānte catur-nira*°.

⁸ Read *prāg-di-gigīṣayā, prasthitaiḥ* and °*taradbhiḥ*. Subba Rao reads *taram*.

⁹ Subba Rao reads *naptre*,

¹⁰ Read °*dhyāsita* = *tanor* = *Dāma*.

¹¹ Read *Taittirīyaka*°.

¹² Read °*karmm-ānu*°.

¹³ Subba Rao reads *phālguṇya*.

¹⁴ Read *paurṇamāsyām*.

L. 27. Janūśraya-datyā¹ sarva-kara-parihāreṇ = āgrahāri.²

[kr̥]tyā³ samprattaḥ [||*] Ta-

L. 28. thā bhavadbhir = anyaiś = ca dharm-ādhiśata⁴.

buddhibhiḥ pari [pā] lanīya⁵ [||*] Na kai-

3rd Plate : 2nd Side.

L. 29. ś = cid = vādhā karaṇīyā [||*] Āñaptir = itra⁶ Has-
tikośa-Vīrakośau [||*] Mahā-

L. 30. III. mātra-yodhayos = teṣāṃ⁷ śreyaḥ kīrtir = idaṃ⁸
mahat⁹ [*I] Ye-

L. 31. na¹⁰ lobhena lumpanti śvapākūs = teṣu¹¹ jāyate¹²
[||*] A[nyā]ya-

L. 32. samakāle tu sthātavyaṃ śaktitaḥ purā [| *]
Upekṣati

L. 33. punary = yatra¹³ nara[ke] sa [ni]majjati [||*]
Ity = evaṃ = ubhaya-

L. 34. gaṇau sthikṛtyā¹⁴ paripālayet [||*] Atra Vyāsa-
gītā¹⁵ [ślokaḥ]

4th Plate : 1st Side.

L. 35. [Ba]hubhir = va[su]dhā dattā bahubhiś = c =
ānupā[li]-

¹ Read *dattiyā*. Subba Rao reads *dattiyāṃ*.

² Read *hārī*.

³ Read *kr̥tya*.

⁴ Read *śayita*.

⁵ Read *pālanīyaḥ*.

⁶ Read *tir = atra*.

⁷ Read *s = tayoḥ*.

⁸ Read *īyaṃ*.

⁹ Read *mahatī*.

¹⁰ Read *ca*.

¹¹ Read *tu*.

¹² Read *jāyante*, though it does not suit the line, which seems to be in the *anustubh* metre.

¹³ Read *yo = 'tra*.

¹⁴ Read *svikṛtya*. But the meaning of the passage is not clear.

¹⁵ Read *Vyāsa-gītāḥ*.

- L. 36. tā [| *] Yasya yasya yadā bhūmis = tasya tasya
tadā phalam¹ [|| *] Sva-da-
- L. 37. ttā² para-dattām = va³ yo hareti⁴ vasundharām⁵
[| *] Śaṣṭhi-va[ri]⁶sa-sahasrā-
- L. 38. ṇi viṣṭhāyāñ = jāyate kṛmi[h || *] Śaṣṭhi⁶-varṣa-
sahasrāṇi
- L. 39. svrage modati bhūmidah[| *] Ākṣettā⁷ c =
ānumantā ca tāny = eva naka⁸ va-
- L. 40. se [t] [|| *] Na viṣa⁹ viṣam = ity = āhuh¹⁰ brahma-
svam viṣam = ucyate[| *] Viṣam-e-
- L. 41. kāki[naṃ] ha[nti] brahma-svam pu[tra]-pau-
trikaṃ¹¹ [|| *] Vijaya-rājya-saṃ-vatsare¹² ॐ

2. Polamuru Plates of Jayasimha I.

These Plates have been edited in Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc., IV, 72ff. and in Ep. Ind., XIX, 254 ff. My transcript is prepared from the facsimile published in the former.

TEXT.

- L. 1. Svasti[|| *] Śrī-vijaya-skandhāvārāt¹⁰ mātr-ṇa-
parirakṣitānām Mānavya-sagotrāṇām

¹ Read *phalam*.

² Read *sva-dattām*.

³ Read **dattām vā*.

⁴ Read *hareta*.

⁵ Read **rām*.

⁶ Read *ṣaṣṭhi-varṣa*.

⁷ Read *ākṣeptā*.

⁸ Read *narake*.

⁹ Read *viṣaṇ*.

¹⁰ Read **hur = bra°*.

¹¹ Read **kam*.

¹² The upper part of the symbol looks like 40, and the lower part like 8. See above, p. 90, note 1.

¹³ Read **rān = mātr°*.

- L. 2. I. Hāritī-putrānām¹ Aśvamedha-yājīnām Calukyā-
nām kulā-jala-nidhi-
L. 3. samutpanna-rāja-ratnasya sakala-bhuvana-maṇḍa-
la-maṇḍita-kīrttiḥ² śrī-
L. 4. Kīrtti-varmmanah pautrah³ aneka-samara-samghaṭ-
ṭa-vijayina[h] para-nara-
L. 5. pati-makuṭa-maṇi-mayūkh-āvadāta-carana-yugala-
sya śrī-Viṣṇuvardhana-
L. 6. mahārājasya priya-tanāyāḥ pravarddhamāna-
pratāp-opanata-samasta-

2nd Plate : 1st Side

- L. 7. s[ā]manta - ma[n]ḍalah sva - bāhu - bala - par-
[ākram-o]pārjjita-sa[kala]-yaśo-
L. 8. vibhāsita-dig-antarah sva-śakti-traya-trisūl-āva-
bhinna-para-narapati-
L. 9. sakala-bala-cetanaḥ⁴ Brhaspatir = iva nayajño
Manur = iva vinaya-
L. 10. jñah⁵ Yudhiṣṭhira iva dharmma-parāyanah⁶
Arjuna-vad = apara-nara-
L. 11. patibhir = anabhilaṃghita-pauruṣyah⁷ aneka-sāstr-
ārttha-tatvajñah para-
L. 12. ma-brahmanyā⁸ mātā-pitr-pād-ānudhyātaḥ Śrī-
Pridhivī-Jayasiṃgha⁹-va-

1 Read *nām = Aśva*.

2 Better read *kīrttiḥ*.

3 Read *tro = 'neka*.

4 Read -cetano.

5 Read *jño*.

6 Read *no = 'rjuna*.

7 Read *ṣo = 'neka*.

8 Read *brahmanyā*.

9 Read Prthivī-Jayasiṃgha.

2nd Plate : 2nd Side.

- L. 13. llabha-mahārājah¹ Guddavādi²-viṣaye viṣaya-
mahatta[rān = adhi]kāra-pu-
L. 14. ruṣāms = ca³ imam = arttham = ājñāpayaty =
asti⁴ veditam = astu vo yath = āsmābhiḥ⁵
L. 15. II. Guddavādi-viṣaye Pulobūmra-nnāma⁶-grāmaḥ⁷
veda-vedāṃga-
L. 16. vido Dāmaśarmmaṇaḥ pautrāya sva-pitur =
adhika-guṇa.gañ-ādhi-
L. 17. vāsasya Śivaśarmmaṇaḥ putrāya Taittirika-
sabrahmacāriṇe⁸ veda-
L. 18. dvay-ālamkṛta-śarirāya⁹ Gautama-sagotrāya sva-
[ka]rmm = a¹⁰[nuṣṭhāna]-

3rd Plate : 1st Side.

- L. 19. parāya pūrvv-agrāhārika¹¹-Rudraśarmmaṇe¹² Asa-
napura-sthāna-vāstavyāya
L. 20. śrī-Sarvvasiddhi-datyā¹³ sarvva-kara-parihāreṇ-
āgrahārīkṛtya samprattaḥ[||*]
L. 21. Tathā bhavadbhir = anyaiś = ca dharmmadhiśata¹⁴-
buddhibhiḥ paripālanīyaḥ[|*]

¹ Read *rājo

² Cf. da in veda-vedāṃga (l. 15).

³ Read *ṣāms = c = ema*.

⁴ Asti is superfluous.

⁵ Read *osmābhir =.

⁶ Read *nāma*.

⁷ Read *grāmo.

⁸ Read Taittirīyaka-sabrahmacāriṇe.

⁹ Read *śarirāya

¹⁰ Read *karmm-ānu*.

¹¹ Read pūrvv-āgra*.

¹² Read *ne = 'sana*.

¹³ Read dattyā.

¹⁴ Read dharmm-ādhi-śayita*.

- L. 22. Na kaiś-cid=vādhā karaṇīyā[||*] Ājñaptir=
atra Hastikośa-Vīrakośa¹[||*] Byā²-
- L. 23. sa-gītāḥ Bahubhirv=vasudhā dattā bahubhiś=
c=ānupālītā[|*] Yasya yasya
- L. 24. yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam=iti[||*]
Saṃ || 5 | gi 8 | di 3³

¹ Read °kośau.

² Read *Vyāsa*°. The word *ślokāḥ* seems to be left out after *gītāḥ*.

³ The date was originally read in An. Rep. S. Ind. Ep., 1914, p. 10, as year [1]5. [*śu*].
di 6 (*Sunday*). Subba Rao reads *saṃ* 4, which is certainly wrong. M. S. Sarma reads 5 *gi* (*grī*?)
8 | *di* 7 | (J. A. H. R. S., V, p. 183). I agree with Mr. Sarma except in the case of the last
figure, which appears to me to be certainly 3. Cf. the symbol for 3 in l. 30 of the Polamuru
plates of Mādhavavarman I. Cf. also Bühler's *Indische Palæographie*, Tafel IX, Col.
VIII.

CORRIGENDA

PAGE	LINE	CORRECTION
3	29	A.S.S.I., I.
4	3	Ep. Ind., XVIII.
,,	34	Cat., 34 ff.
,,	36	J.R.A.S., July, 1934, pp. 560 f.
8	8-9	J.R.A.S., October, 1934, pp. 729ff.
10	34	(Savitṛ)
13	10-11	about the middle
,,	30	end of the 3rd century
17	25	<i>supabudha-</i>
19	23	about the middle
22	6	= $\frac{1}{16}$
26	24	p. 173)
27	9	omit "as has been discussed above"
28	20	Cāṃtamūla (Sāntamūla) II.
42	28	J.R.A.S., October, 1934, pp. 729ff.
45	30	J.R.A.S., October, 1934, pp. 732ff.
47	13-14	about the middle. Omit "when the Ikṣvāku...."
63	12	belonged originally also to Magadha (pp. 127-8).
68	3	granted from Piṣṭapura
71	31	their Śaiva faith
80	14	village-god."
85	31	<i>-kalmaṣa-</i>
90	8	designated Vikramendra I
97	24	6th century A.D.
99	21	modern Deṇḍalūru
101	26	the <i>vāsaka</i>
125	25	° <i>smābhir</i> =